The German Tribune

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Chancellor Brandt goes to the country

Will 22 September 1972 turn out to have been a historic date for this country? Against the background of the final session of the current Bundestag, in which the parties after a feeble start got down to their final reckoning with the past three years, the answer must be perhaps.

We will not know for sure until the evening of 19 November. The outcome of the forthcoming general election will determine whether the premature demise of the Bonn government that has been in office since autumn 1969 will have been a turning point in the history of the Federal Republic or merely, in retrospect, a passing phase.

In other words it is up to the electorate to decide whether the three-year term of the Social and Free Democratic coalition has been a temporary break in the predominance of the Christian Democrats or the change-over three years ago is confirmed to have been a lasting change in the political landscape.

A decision one way or the other has long been overdue. The position into which both the government and the Bundestag have manoeuvred themselves since the last general election has been evident enough.

Yet as basic facts have run the risk of being blurred in recent months by the heated and somewhat demagogic tenor of public debate it might be as well to recall the fundamentals of the situation.

Even in 1969 the Christian Democratic and Christian Social Unions (CDU/CSU) emerged as the strongest parliamentary party by far in terms of number. Normally the largest party forms the government or at least participates in a coalition.

Three years ago this was not the case, largely because the Social and Free Democrats made common cause against the CDU in the election campaign and went on to form a coalition with a majority of six.

It was, however, clear from the start that at least a number of Free Democrats in the Bundestag were sceptical to say the least about the newly-formed coalition.

On assuming office as Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt must have realised full well that he ran the risk of his parliamentary majority eroding during the lifetime of the newly-elected Bundestag.

This did not deter him from pursuing his political aim of engineering a power take-over and inaugurating a new era, and rightly not. But when the expected happened and his majority gradually vanished it was not, perhaps, the acme of political justice to accuse the turncoats of treachery.

Most MPs who parted company with the Social and Free Democrats during the three-year lifespan of the outgoing coalition did so out of unimpeachable motives.

There is no point in accusing men such as Knut von Kühlmann-Stumm, the ex-Free Democrat spokesman, or Klaus-Peter Schulz, the SPD member for West Berlin, of having left the coalition ranks for purely selfish motives.

In preferring no longer to support the policies pursued by the Social and Free Democratic coalition they were rightly able to point out that not they but their erstwhile parties had changed their political views.

This was one of the risks Willy Brandt ran in 1969 and he and his supporters can hardly complain now that it has happened. Besides, the Chancellor has always known that under certain circumstances he might be able to call fresh elections in

Continued on page 2



Chancellor Willy Brandt during the debate on the vote of confidence in his government (Photo: dpa)

Schiller leaves SPD

Ex-Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Karl Schiller has resigned from the Social Democratic Party (SPD). Dr Schiller, who resigned ministerial office in July, stated in a declaration issued in Bonn on 24 September that he had tendered his resignation as a member of the SPD in a letter to Social Democratic leader Chancellor Willy Brandt.

Now that the Bundestag has been dissolved and he is no longer an MP, Schiller stated, he felt able to take this step "without running the risk of laying my decision open to misinterpretation."

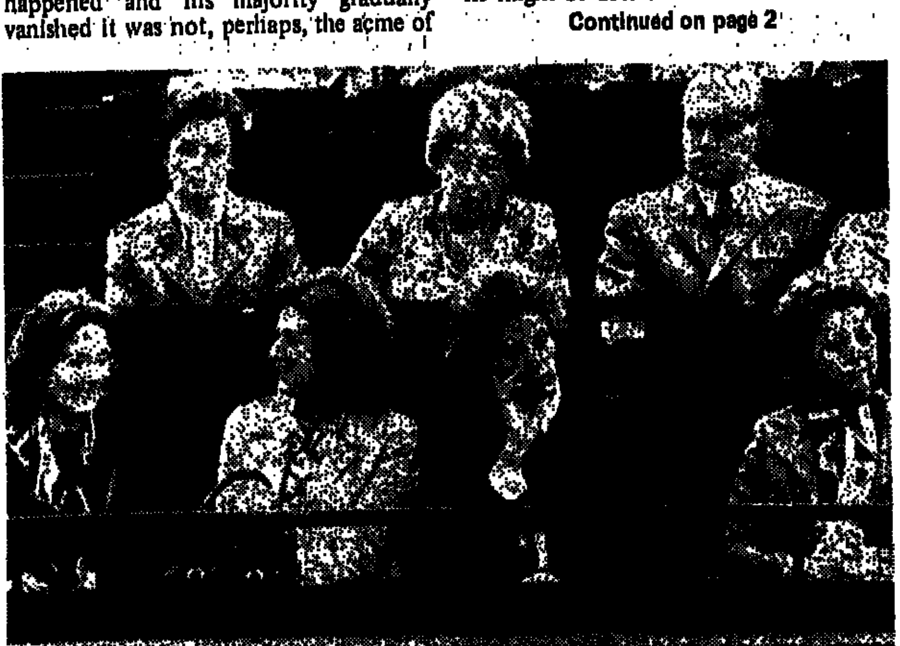
He was resigning from the party for the same reasons that had decided him to resign as Minister of Economic Affairs. Since his resignation from the Cabinet nothing, he claimed, had been undertaken to offset his comments and anxieties at that time.

Criticising his successor Helmut Schmidt and his opinions on the free market economy Karl Schiller noted thast it was not merely a matter of "vapid or brash lip service."

What was at stake, he felt, was whether or not the free market economy and the principle of competition remained the guidelines of economic and financial policy. This, he continued, was a question to which the Federal government was not at present providing an answer.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 September 1972)

IN THIS ISSUE



Christa von Dohnanyi extreme left, then Hellwig Ahlers, Mildred Scheel and Rut Brandt looking on at the proceedings in the last day of the life of the present Bundestag on the 22 September (Photo: dpa)

Bundestag's last debate unimpressive

The final debate of the sixth Bundestag lasted nine hours. Nothing spectacular was expected of the closing debate yet one wondered whether this controversial legislature's last curtain would be at all impressive.

The debate got off to a poor start, government and Opposition intricating themselves in controversy as to the motives of the eight Social and Free Democratic MPs who have crossed the floor to the Christian Democrats since October 1969.

It is difficult enough to sound out individual consciences as it is. There is no point whatsoever in doing so in public debate.

Helmut Schmidt and Hans Katzer, the political heavyweights of both sides of the House, eventually succeeded in dispensing with this fruitless discussion and their contributions represented something of a climax.

Chancellor Brandt and Shadow Chancellor Barzel also showed themselves worthy of the occasion. It is a pity that the debate came to a woolly close with a succession of pettifogging personal declarations.

In his closing remarks Bundestag speaker Kai-Uwe von Hassel noted that parliamentary democracy was well able to cope with extraordinary situations provided only that democrats stood together and remembered that defamation and denigration of the other side failed to achieve the results required. One wonders whether his warning will be heeded.

The sixth Bundestag was not to the electorate's taste. One can but hope that both the voters and the political parties have learnt the lesson of the past three years.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 September 1972)

The swings and roundabouts of deterrent and detente seem to have adjusted to the rhythm of the four seasons. At the spring meetings of the North Atlantic Council, held this May in Bonn, for instance, detente signals are sounded, only to yield to deterrence in the autumn when manoeuvres are held and the military have the final say.

Undeniable though it may be, the need for the West's detente policy to be backed up in military terms by Nato is scant consolation when the din of the yearly round of autumn manoeuvres is so deafening that detente and disarmament initiatives are barely audible.

From the viewpoint of the country whose forces are engaged in exercises manoeuvres have a threefold significance. In addition to the training for the troops they firstly convey a clear idea of the country's fighting strength.

Secondly, they demonstrate one's own machinery of destruction to the other side. From this deterrent ef ect it is but a small step to the third function of military exercises, the political demonstration by means of men and manoeuvres.

This aspect tends to take the form of deliberately holding manoeuvres in politically significant frontier zones. It is currently recurring as Nato's Strong Express coincide with the Warsaw Pact's Shield 72 manoeuvres.

The military point to the Eastern Bloc's full-scale manoeuvres held in Western Slovakia is, as usual, the interplay of a complex military apparatus and the regular change in emphasis.

Following this year's reorganisation of the Warsaw Pact's air transport potential one target of the Shield 72 manoeuvres will have been to put the stricter air landing and transport command to the test.

Soviet, Polish, GDR, Hugarian and Czech troops demonstrated a further target at the outset of the manoeuvres by staging a full-scale night-time battle.

During the night, it was officially commented in Prague, the host country formally presiding over the manoeuvres, the shooting had been so excellent that an "aggressor from the West" would have been routed.

If the domestic effect of the manoeuvres, *vide* 1968, is not to go by the board, the Eastern logic would seem to be, propaganda broadsides against the class

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Nato manoeuvres indicate Alliance is very much alive

enemy, that is in the West's direction, must be all the more emphatic.

The Warsaw Pact has converted a second internal problem into a spearhead aimed at Nato too. As soon as it was clear that the unobliging Rumanians were not prepared to bolster up the joint shield Bulgaria was dispensed with too, making the manoeuvres a Central European affair designed to "ward off a lightning attack from the West."

The Rumanians were officially no longer required to participate, which is as well since they have refused for years to take part in joint manoeuvres on the fighting side, and the Bulgarians held manoeuvres of their own in the second half of August.

Were there still to be misgivings in the Eastern Bloc about the fraternal manoeuvres they could well be deflected by a reference to Nato's Strong Express manoeuvres in the North Atlantic.

Izvestia, the Soviet Party newspaper, was first off the mark to accuse the West of countering general trends in the political climate of Europe and upsetting the Scandinavian countries with its spectacular Strong Express manoeuvres.

Nato takes a diametrically opposed view of the situation on its Northern flank. When Norway and Denmark joined Nato in 1949 the US and Royal Navy controlled both the Atlantic and the North Sea. Since the sixties this strategic picture has changed as the Soviet fleet has steadily been increased in size.

Norway is affected in two respects. The Norwegian economy is heavily dependent on foreign trade, which accounts for about forty per cent of gross national product, and in the event of conflict is dependent for supplies on Britain and the United States.

Since the Second World War the Soviet Union has continually extended the field of operations of its naval manoeuvres in a Westerly direction. Western defence specialists infer from the most recent Soviet naval exercises that the Red Navy now regards a line extending from Greenland to Iceland and Britain as the periphery of its defence zone. This zone controls all access routes to and from the Atlantic.

In the course of the 1968 and 1970 manoeuvres code-named North [illegible] Ocean respectively Soviet landing convoys circumnavigated Scandinavia and carried out landing exercises on the defended coast of the Kola peninsula.

According to the Institute of Strategic Studies, London, northern Norway will be doubly endangered in the event of tension mainly, paradoxically enough, as a result of a strategic weakness from which the Red Navy suffers.

The Soviet naval staff might, seeing most of the Northern fleet is based in the narrow fjord of Murmansk, feel tempted to occupy Norwegian territory in order to improve its own position.

In the tough talk of military manoeuvres Strong Express is intended to indicate that Nato has seen through Soviet "intentions", that the alliance with Norway remains firm (two landings on the coast of Noway form part of Strong Express) and that the North Atlantic for the convenience of Moscow's Northern fleet.

The first Soviet reconnaissance craft disguised as a fishing vessel, has already put in an appearance in the vicinity. Nato has no objections. What is the point of the finest manoeuvres if they fail to bring the message home to the other side?

Christian Potyka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 18 September 1972)

Husak and Czech Premier Strougal visit the GDR

The pomp and circumstance accompanying the visit to the GDR by Czech Party leader Gustav Husak and Premier Lubomir Strougal testify to a new stage in relations between the two countries.

It follows in the wake of a number of political trials in Prague and the Warsaw Pact manoeuvres in Slovakia, both of which were intended to consolidate the Husak regime at home and within the Eastern Bloc.

This is a framework within which the fresh attempt to overcome the obstacles remaining to relations between Czechoslovakia and the GDR could readily be undertaken.

It is less a matter of the powers that be, which have long cooperated with one another, than of the psychological attitude of the Czechs and Slovaks towards the East German state.

By virtue of its participation in the August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia the GDR has gained a bad name for itself among the Czech general public and this is a factor that Dr Husak has had to take into account in one way or another.

Meanwhile Eastern cooperation has led towards a resurrection of the grouping that a few years ago was known as the Iron Triangle. With Soviet approval plans have been drawn up for closer regional cooperation between Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR.

The groundwork for this grouping was laid in the fifties but the reins were slackened in the course of the sixties. In the final years of Walter Ulbricht's leadership of the GDR East Berlin increasingly departed from this concept of Three-cornered cooperation as a result of the dissension between Ulbricht and Gomulka in view of the one-sided emphasis laid by Ulbricht on partnership with the Soviet Union.

The Czech reforms and the fact that they were nipped in the bud by foreign intervention also played a part in the [illegible] of regional cooperation.

Two [illegible] this triangular relationship have meanwhile been repaired. Relations between Poland and the GDR have made most progress, those with Czechoslovakia continuing to drag.

There was little choice but to allow Prague a good deal of time for internal consolidation. This summer, however, Warsaw and Prague re-established stronger links, mainly in foreign and economic policy but also, in part, on ideological matters.

The opening of the Czech-Polish frontier for visa-free travel between the two countries along the lines implemented between Poland and the GDR since the beginning of this year is proving more problematic, though.

[illegible] official announcements that a scheme of this kind was to be inaugurated the Czech government has not yet felt able to open the frontier with Poland and even greater difficulties face any attempt to introduce a similar scheme between Czechoslovakia and the GDR.

The third side of the triangle is undoubtedly the most problematic. Attempts to open up the frontier for the general public have proved a failure, the Czechs having gone back on their initial undertakings. Maybe Party leaders Gustav Husak and Erich Honecker will arrive at a more permanent solution.

Any number of economic issues involving greater integration and a better division of labour also remain to be solved, but there are also topical foreign policy matters affecting the interests of both regimes, specifically relations with this country.

This particular problem was discussed jointly at the Crimean summit with Soviet Party leader Leonid Brezhnev and also at a separate meeting in Oreanda between Husak and Honecker.

Czechoslovakia has hesitated before establishing normal relations with Bonn mainly out of consideration for East Berlin. But Dr Husak is under pressure from various lobbies intent on swift agreement with the Federal government in Bonn.

For this reason if for no other clarification of deadlines in respect of the fundamental treaty between the two German states and the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Bonn and Prague is necessary.

Alexander Korab

(Tagesspiegel, 20 September 1972)

Chancellor goes to the country

Continued from page 1

order to strengthen his parliamentary hand.

At times the Brandt/Scheel government has gone to such great lengths to ensure swift results that it is clear that this is a possibility the coalition parties have had in mind.

Laments that the government has been ousted by turncoats merit a rejoinder typical of the Berlin idioms to which Willy Brandt resorts on occasion, a comment to the effect that words such as "deserter" a little overshoot the mark.

The moralising that is now going on in the Bundestag is no more than a prelude to the general election campaign. The voters will certainly not be asked to decide whether or not MPs ought to be allowed to topple the government by changing their party allegiance.

Were floor-crossing to be morally indefensible as a matter of principle neither this country's President Heinemann, a Social Democrat who was Konrad Adenauer's first Minister of the Interior, nor Winston Churchill, who switched from Liberal to Conservative in mid-career, would fare too well in political retrospect.

The issue that the forthcoming general election will decide is in fact whether the change-over that occurred in 1969 is a lasting phenomenon or has merely been a temporary break in the political continuity of the Federal Republic.

The electorate and they alone can decide matters, and the decision is not an easy one to make. The final parliamentary parties themselves are none too sure.

Now this is far from being a matter of course. In other countries a government generally dissolves parliament when it feels sure of winning a snap election, though of course it can prove to have been mistaken.

But the system of proportional representation in this country is such that an electoral landslide of the kind that can happen in, say, Britain is pretty well out of the question. A number of politicians are already plagued by the nightmare of the 19 November election results leaving the situation no clearer than it was three years ago.

The likelihood of parliamentary stalemate resulting is probably exaggerated, though. On this occasion, unlike in 1969, all candidates for all parties know where their parties stand and what the alternatives are. Floor-crossing will probably not be a prominent feature of the next Bundestag.

This, then, is the one advantage to be derived from the holding of premature elections. Comparisons between Bonn and the Weimar Republic are thus unwarranted. Whatever the outcome of the elections may be, they can be expected to return a stable government, which is what the voters badly want of both the Bundestag and the political parties.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 23 September 1972)

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■ INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Geneva disarmament conference plods on

Geneva has this month demonstrated its tradition as the venue for international mediation conferences with a jubilee exhibition in the *Salle d'Alabama* at the Town Hall. Mid-September was the 100th anniversary of the occasion when five arbitrators from the United States, Britain, Brazil, Italy and Switzerland met there to discuss a dispute between Washington and London.

In the American Civil War the British pirate vessel *Alabama* fought on the side of the southern states and dealt out severe damage. After the war Washington demanded reparations. The two sides agreed on arbitration. The court ordered Great Britain to make a payment of fifteen and a half million gold dollars. The exhibition celebrates this occasion.

There is a second Geneva conference jubilee that could be celebrated, but no one wants to do so: it is the tenth anniversary of the international disarmament conference. The points up for discussion have greater topicality than the Alabama case but they are more complicated and dependent on the political will of the two superpowers. As a result what has been achieved in these ten years is quite modest. Even the most glowing successes of the conference, the limitation of nuclear armaments, and the ban on biological weapons show the limitations of this conference which is hamstrung by a diplomatic stalemate and the preponderance of the superpowers.

Disgruntled Russian

No visible progress has been made by the delegates from the 25 States on the question of chemical weapons and attempts to ban subterranean nuclear tests. Thus it is understandable that at the end of the autumn session the chief Soviet delegate, Roshchin, is disgruntled.

Other statements by Roshchin and his American colleague and counterpart Martin, do indicate that Washington and Moscow's chief delegates have not written off this year in Geneva completely. It seems as if they have made the first steps on the road to talks about banning C-weapons and that next spring's session could bring further progress. This would be quite logical. Having renounced B-weapons Moscow and Washington should find it relatively easy to do without their C weaponry while the problem of underground testing does touch on the existential questions of the effectiveness and renewal of the bilateral nuclear arms agreements.

The key questions within the framework of a C-weapon agreement are as ever *what* chemicals are actually to be prohibited (some have not only military but also industrial applications) and *how* such a ban could be implemented without interference in the affairs of other states.

After technical working papers were put forward in March and June by America and eight other States (including non-member Finland) the delegates met in early July for informal talks on the basic factors involved in a C-weapon ban. The Swedish delegation stated optimistically that the most important building

Süddeutsche Zeitung

blocks for a C-weapon treaty had thus been provided.

In Early August the British delegation suggested working towards such an agreement in two stages. In the first stage the production of chemical weapons could be suspended and existing stocks distroyed. In the second stage the difficult matter of winding up the production plant for chemical weapons could be undertaken.

Mr Martin promised to review the British suggestion and other beginnings made at this year's sessions so that by next spring, Washington and Moscow's political wills allowing, the first steps could be taken towards an outline of a C-weapons treaty.

As far as underground nuclear tests are concerned, however, the fronts have hardened. Decisions to this effect are taken at the Salt talks anyway with Geneva playing second fiddle. The superpowers' delegations, however, are keeping up appearances and acting with rigidity. The Soviet Union adheres to its point of view that the technical equipment on hand for detecting and measuring tremors is sufficient to allow implementation of such a ban.

Although the Americans admit that improvements have been made in recent years to seismic technology it is still distrustful and continues to demand on-site inspections. America wants to make sure that the other side will not continue underground tests and pass these off as natural earth tremors.

Washington wants to develop further teleseismic instruments capable of identifying tremors at a great distance and is not prepared to ignore those seismic observatories that can be placed at critical sites with a minimum of offence.

All these arguments are right enough in themselves but the superpowers are kidding no one that they are prolonging this controversy so as to be able to continue underground tests as a means of modernising their nuclear weapon potential.

Christian Potyka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 September 1972)

Moscow seems to be going cold on European security conference

Assuming the Soviet Union will not comply with the Western world's desire for a conference on mutual balanced force reduction (MBFR) to be prepared at the same time as the preparatory work for the European Security conference, what will the West do?

This is not just a theoretical consideration but will determine the next move on the chess board. It seems quite likely that Moscow will starve out the West's project despite occasional cryptic pointers to its readiness to negotiate on troop reductions. If this is what Moscow intends it is in for a disappointment. The Americans are taking a far harder line than they appear to be. Maybe their attitude is not shared by all Nato members and it could be that on the Nato Council there will be no joint opinion on the possibility of a security conference without parallel preparations for MBFR talks. But this would change nothing for the Soviet Union.

If the greater number of Nato countries including the most important of the allies do not turn up in Helsinki, Moscow will not allow the preparatory conference to get under way — nor the security conference.

If the Soviet leadership wants the security conference it will have to say something concrete in the next few weeks about MBFR talks. The hesitation of the Soviet Union has caused speculation in certain Western capitals about whether Moscow still wants the security conference it has been trying to arrange for so long. For the Soviet Union the project has not been unambiguous since the first sketches for the plan were made in the fifties. Since then the idea has been put forward with different content and at different times and has then been dropped again.

For Molotov it meant something different than for Gromyko. And since the idea was dragged up again in 1966 in the Bucharest communiqué the purpose and content have changed again.

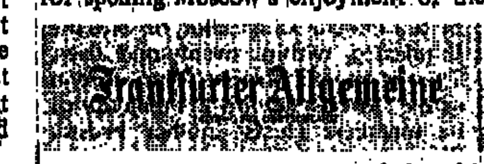
Originally Moscow's intention was in the main to achieve *security* guaranteed by the Western powers for its empire, stretched to the Elbe in 1945, which was to be recognised as rightful and enduring. There was the further expectation that following this guarantee the Soviet policy of "peaceful co-existence" would make progress in the direction "dissolution of the blocs" and the withdrawal of American troops.

Two important events

Two events in the main must have overtaken this original Soviet conference strategy. The first was the 1968 Prague disaster of "Socialism with a human face". The Red Army's intervention "discredited" peaceful co-existence and caused much musing in the West on the convergence of the systems of East and West to come to an abrupt end. The second factor was Bonn's treaties with Moscow and Warsaw. Their recognition of the division of Germany and the loss of territories in 1945 as well as renunciation of force gave the Soviet Union in advance the main points they wanted to win at a European security conference.

So the Moscow leadership in recent years has come round more and more to discussing the possibilities of economic and technical cooperation as the purpose of the conference. But this can scarcely be the primary motive for such a conference since it would be necessary to go into great detail.

Moscow diplomats cannot have failed to notice how the Western world has been making preparations for this conference for the past two years or so. They recognise what possibilities have emerged for spoiling Moscow's enjoyment of the



plan. Originally everyone agreed that this security conference would inevitably be to the greater advantage of the Soviet Union but the intensive preparations made by the West have caused some doubt about this. The possibility of making "security" mean concrete, physical security from outside attack as opposed to simply recognition of Soviet domination over Eastern Europe has grown.

The West can see footholds in the item on the agenda "the principles of inter-State relations" as well as in the pressure for parallel balanced troop reductions by both sides.

And by demanding a more liberal exchange of people and news between the East and West the Western powers can underline the propaganda effect to the detente, with which the Soviet Union hopes to divide the Western alliance and turn it back in the face of the Soviet Union.

Taking into consideration the many possibilities open to the West of arranging the items on the agenda to its own benefit it is to a certain degree plausible that the Soviet Union is now having second thoughts about the conference. It is more difficult for the USSR to turn such a conference to its own benefit than was originally assumed. The opportunities for the West to hoist the Soviet Union with the peace propaganda petard have increased enormously. The prerequisite is for the countries of the Western alliance to know in advance what they want for themselves and for the people of Eastern Europe.

Günther Gillessen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 September 1972)

UN enters new era

Kieler Nachrichten

Undoubtedly the United Nations is at the threshold of a new era. The admittance of People's Republic of China a year ago, the greater self-assurance of the third power and the smaller States, who treat the General Assembly as their forum and other factors go to show that the UN has developed beyond being a meeting of the victorious powers of the Second World War in an effort to control world affairs.

Between the last General Assembly meeting at Christmas last and the beginning of the present sessions the organisation has had to overcome a number of crises under its own roof (finances) and in all five corners of the world.

Dr Kurt Waldheim, the dynamic Secretary-General, has gone a long way towards settling the Namibia problem with his personal visit, but the publicity for this has been swallowed up amid a number of other African problems involving racial tension and discrimination in places such as Uganda, the Sudan and Biafra.

But the main problem facing the UN at present is the Middle East crisis. Special envoy Gunnar Jarring is, so to speak, waiting at the starting line to set off on his mission again as soon as the dust clouds over the Levant have settled and the American elections are over.

Foreign ministers from more than one hundred member countries are expected in New York at the outset. As far as they are concerned the official business of the general debate is just a pretext for any number of private meetings and talks in hotels and restaurants and the UN Cocktail Lounge at the East River HQ. Their main hope will be that this year will not see a war in the Middle East against which the new UN would be just as powerless as the old.

Marlene Manthey

(Kieler Nachrichten, 19 September 1972)

■ THE 1972 CAMPAIGN

Party bosses make important electoral decision before elections

Elections are approaching but the first decisions are already being made. Voters do not decide how many members each party is to have in the Bundestag until the actual Sunday of the election but the parties themselves will have determined who is in the running.

The parties present voters with their candidates in the constituencies and on the proportional representation lists. In practice, though not under the terms of Basic Law, the parties have a monopoly on the Bundestag.

Candidates not belonging to one of the political parties would have no chance of entering the Bundestag. Independent members would be powerless lone wolves crushed by the strength of the Bundestag parties. As they have a monopoly over Bundestag seats, the parties make the first choice when selecting candidates.

This is nothing like a primary. The party rank and file only choose the delegates who select the candidates and there are many people who claim that democracy takes a back seat when candidates are chosen.

It could sometimes happen that a candidate rejected by a majority of delegates could be approved by a majority of party members. But delegates know that choosing a candidate who does not enjoy general support is an indictment of their judgment.

Candidates receiving more votes than the party on the proportional representation list – electors give them their first vote while awarding their second to a different party – are able to chalk up an impressive victory which will stand them in good stead.

But voting for personalities is not all that common. The most frequent form it takes is when electors vote for the Chancellor's party. Some people used to vote CDU because of Adenauer, Erhard or Kiesinger and in the coming election some will vote SPD because of Willy Brandt.

But anyone wanting to see Brandt returned as Chancellor will not vote for a CDU candidate in his constituency even though he may be a more attractive prospect than his Social Democrat opponent. Those wanting a Christian Democrat Chancellor will not vote SPD on a constituency level even if the Social Democratic candidate may be more appealing than the CDU one.

If the parties' top men are attractive to voters, they will be able to secure seats for candidates who would not otherwise have been elected. If voters turn against a party many candidates are left by the wayside through no fault of their own.

These risks and opportunities do not affect candidates with safe seats. The mere selection of them as candidates is as good as a ticket to Bonn. But safe seats are becoming fewer. In earlier elections Christian Democrat candidates who could not hope for victory in Dortmund and Frankfurt constituencies that seemed the sole domain of the Social Democrats. In the last election Social Democrat candidates won seats in Cologne and elsewhere that were considered beforehand to be certain CDU wins.

There will be even fewer safe seats in the coming election. The struggle for a good place on the proportional representation lists will be that much harder. But even these lists have their inconsistencies. If a party wins two hundred seats under the rules of proportional representation and is successful in one hundred constituencies, one hundred candidates from the list also enter the Bundestag. If it gains the same amount of votes but wins only eighty constituencies 120 list candidates will enter the Bundestag. The more constituencies a party wins the less secure is a place on the list.

Forecasts about which positions on the list are safe in view of the last election results are unreliable even if the number of votes gained by a party remains more or less the same. The only exception is the FDP whose Bundestag members are always list candidates. As the small third party, the Free Democrats have no chance of winning a constituency.

A tremendous fight goes on for top places on the proportional representation list. All branch leaders know that their most difficult moments will come when drawing up the list for their Federal state.

Every constituency delegation wants its candidate high up the list to ensure entry into the Bundestag even if this candidate loses at constituency level. But the list is also a means of attracting voters.

The list must include candidates attractive to various groups such as the civil servants, farmers, middle classes, industry, women or the expellees – and the self-employed must not be forgotten either.

As far as workers are concerned, it was to be noted in the past that few members of the Bundestag came straight from the factory floor. Labour has always been represented almost exclusively by trade union officials.

Regional difficulties are also faced when compiling the lists. Candidates from the Rhine and from Westphalia alternate on the CDU list for North Rhine-Westphalia. Candidates from North Württemberg, North Baden, South Baden and South Württemberg must be equally represented on the lists of all parties in Baden-Württemberg. Social Democrats in North Hesse and South Hesse make sure that the SPD list for Hesse is balanced and the same is true of Rhine Hesse and Palatinate branches in the Rhineland Palatinate.

It is a matter of luck if those people needed in the Bundestag actually manage to fight their way up the lists. If the choice were solely with party leaders, the proportional representation lists would take on a different hue and other candidates might well be put up in the constituencies. The party leaders know which of their colleagues are willing and work well on committees.

Bundestag members with their nose deep in committee work cannot strut around their constituency, attending every carnival or anniversary, gladly shaking everybody's hand.

Members devoting most of their attention to studying Bills coming up before the Bundestag will not be able to display the same eagerness as a typical constituency member for asking the government why a level crossing in the constituency is still without barriers.

Everyone in Bonn understands this. But a lot of people in the constituency claim they are not being paid enough attention and say their man in Bonn is not the right man for them. Statements by party leaders to constituency branches that the man is the better member for the party at large are often detrimental to him.

That is why Konrad Adenauer thought of introducing a Federal list to be compiled by the party leaders. Social Democrats too thought this a good idea. But there is no Federal list. Bundestag candidates, except of course the top politicians, are chosen behind closed doors without the advice of party leaders.

Bundestag candidates are neither appointed from above nor chosen at grass-roots' level. Not all the politicians that the parties would like to see as Bundestag members will be returned by the constituencies.

Old parliamentarians, especially those who sat in the first Bundestag of 1949, are of course becoming fewer. But the old brigade will be represented in the new Bundestag by such prominent members as Ludwig Erhard, Franz Josef Strauss, Gerhard Schröder and Herbert Wehner.

But there is a tendency for delegates to consider members decrepit after sixteen or twenty years in the Bundestag. There will therefore by many new members after the election even if voters do not change the comparative strengths of the parties.

Alfred Rapp

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 September 1972)

BASIC LAW

Article 68 (Vote of confidence – Dissolution of the Bundestag)

(1) If a motion of the Federal Chancellor for a vote of confidence is not assented to by the majority of the members of the Bundestag, the Federal President may, upon the proposal of the Federal Chancellor, dissolve the Bundestag within twenty-one days. The right to dissolve shall lapse as soon as the Bundestag with the majority of its members elects another Federal Chancellor.

(2) Forty-eight hours must elapse between the motion and the vote thereon.

Chronicle of Bundestag crises

Six members of the governing coalition of Social Democrats and Free Democrats have gone over to the CDU/CSU Opposition in the past three years, robbing the government of their always precarious majority.

There has been a stalemate in the Bundestag ever since Christian Democrat leader Rainer Barzel's failure to gain the Chancellorship. Both government and Opposition are able to raise the same number of votes.

One way out of this situation is to bring forward the general election. Chancellor Brandt plans to do this by calling for and intentionally losing a vote of confidence.

21 October 1969: The Bundestag, consisting of 254 members of the governing coalition and 242 Opposition members, elect Willy Brandt Chancellor with 251 votes in favour.

8/9 October 1970: Bundestag members Erich Mende, Heinz Starke and Siegfried Zoglmann leave the FDP as a protest against the coalition with the Social Democrats. Starke and Mende become members of the CSU group in the Bundestag while Zoglmann, now chairman of the "Deutsche Union", also takes his seat with them.

13 November: Richard Stücklen, head of the CSU group in the Bundestag, announces that FDP member Karl Geldner has switched his allegiance to the CSU. Geldner claims that his negotiations with the CSU were only conducted to expose the methods employed by the Opposition to attract members of the governing coalition on to its side.

14 October 1971: SPD deputy Klaus-Peter Schulz, a Berlin member with no full vote in the Bundestag, goes over the CDU/CSU.

29 February 1972: Social Democrat Herbert Hupka, an official of the Expellees Association and an opponent of Bonn's treaties with Moscow and Warsaw, joins the Opposition.

3 March: SPD deputy Franz Seume, a Berlin member with no voting rights in the Bundestag, takes up his seat alongside the CDU/CSU after being withdrawn by the SPD from the Foreign Affairs Committee along with Willy Bartsch and Hupka.

5 March: Barzel speaks of new elections as the "cleanest solution." The CSU is more reserved in its statements. FDP deputies Gerhard Kienbaum and Wilhelm Helms follow Knut von Kühlmann-Stumm by expressing their doubts about the Moscow and Warsaw treaties.

15 March: SPD deputy Günther Müller threatens to leave the party after a clash with Young Socialists in Munich.

23 April: FDP deputy Wilhelm Helms announces his resignation from the party one hour before polls close in the elections to the Baden-Württemberg Provincial Assembly. Helms, at first independent, later sits with the Opposition. The governing coalition numbers 249 members, only just the absolute majority, though the attitude of Kühlmann-Stumm, Kienbaum and Müller is still uncertain before the decisive debates on the budget and the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw. The CDU victory in the Provincial Assembly elections in Baden-Württemberg means that the CDU/CSU-led Federal states retain their 21 to 20 majority on the Bundesrat, or Upper House, and would be able to veto the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw.

27 April: An Opposition motion of no-confidence fails. As Kühlmann-Stumm and Kienbaum claim to have been among the 247 members who voted for the motion and as there are three abstensions, at least one CDU or CSU member must have decided not to vote for Barzel.

28 April: The government suffers its first defeat in the Bundestag when the second reading of the Budget is not accepted. There are 247 votes for and 247 against.

2 May: Kienbaum leaves the governing coalition but, unlike Mende, Starke, Zoglmann, Helms, Hupka and Müller resigns his seat. Kühlmann-Stumm follows his example on 30 May.

16 May: The SPD breaks with Müller who tries to split the party by forming the Social Democrats 72 group.

17 May: The treaties with Moscow and Warsaw are approved by the Bundestag even though the coalition does not have an absolute majority. The CDU/CSU is divided on the issue and after dramatic discussions decides to abstain.

24 June: Brandt and Scheel announce an autumn general election.

29 June: Barzel, who refuses to agree to the coalition demand for a formal renunciation of a renewed motion of no-confidence, states: "We are all for solving the crisis through an election."

7 July: Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Karl Schiller resigns.

14 August: Schiller has a secret meeting with Barzel. Only now does Brandt state that there is no longer any question of Schiller standing again as an SPD candidate.

13 September: CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss states he has admitted Müller to the CSU. At the end of the summer recess government and Opposition both have 248 seats though Schiller's attitude remains unclear.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 19 September 1972)

■ DIPLOMACY

Federal Republic embassy in Poland goes into action

A joint communique was issued at the end of talks between Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski and the Federal Republic's Foreign Minister Walter Scheel in Bonn. After questions of protocol the communique turns to the Foreign Minister's negotiations.

Mounting the oval embassy plaque above the doorway of the Federal Republic Trade Mission in Warsaw alters a lot of things but great political changes take time. The small tangible changes only take place in the readily-visible sphere of protocol.

Witnesses of current events in Poland will probably have to wait for the history books twenty years from now before knowing how significant an event the opening of the Federal Republic's embassy at number 30, Ulica Dabrowiecka in the Warsaw suburb of Saska Kempa represents in post-war history.

Whether or not the opening of diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic and Poland in fact leads to anything new depends almost exclusively on a third type of change that has nothing to do with protocol and little with politics. That is perhaps the great opportunity that is offered.

What is now changing? Only colours, figures and names. Changing the trade mission into an embassy removes it from the sphere of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, to which it was accredited at the beginning of 1963, to that of the Foreign Ministry.

The Federal Republic embassy will be the newest in Warsaw and under the rules

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of precedence based on length of time served Bonn's ambassador will be last, after the Costa Rican ambassador. The list is currently headed by the Brazilian ambassador Alfredo Teixeira Vallado, the Foreign Ministry states.

Opening the embassy renders superfluous a confidential exchange of letters in 1963 determining the work and status of the two trade missions in Cologne and Warsaw. The work and status of embassies and embassy staff are governed internationally by the first Vienna agreement on diplomatic relations of April 1961 which has been accepted by both Poland and the Federal Republic.

Poland did not join a second international Vienna convention on consular questions because the German Democratic Republic was not invited to attend. But the GDR was not represented at the first convention either.

As the consular convention has not been accepted by both sides and there is no special consular agreement between Poland and the Federal Republic the consulates in Cologne and Warsaw will adhere to the general rules of international law.

In Warsaw the embassy's consular section will be joined by the Polish staff of the Allied Travel Permit Office that previously worked in another suburb and dealt with visa applications for the Federal Republic. This group of Polish employees is the first staff increase at the new embassy though more people will be needed sooner or later in other departments too.

Members of the trade missions in Cologne and Warsaw always had a status similar to that of diplomat under the 1963 agreement. They had a certain amount of diplomatic immunity and their residence permits were issued by the Foreign Ministry and not the local aliens police. The two missions were also allowed to send couriers and coded messages to their capitals and enjoyed a number of other privileges.

Bonn's diplomats in Warsaw now receive a new *Legitimacja* – and Polish document showing its holder to be a diplomat – and diplomatic immunity. Their cars will also carry the yellow registration plates usual for accredited diplomats in Poland.

These yellow registration plates, the oval plaque with the inscription "Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany", the flagpole with its new flag and perhaps a little more activity in the Ulica Dabrowiecka are the only external indication that now the "other" Germans also have an embassy in Warsaw.

But it can already be seen that these changes in status and symbols are only the outward signs of the far-reaching effects of the step taken jointly by Bonn and Warsaw.

A second building will soon be available behind the not very large house that once used to serve as trade mission. The consular and cultural departments will move into the new building and it is their work that will show the extent of progress.

If for example there is a quick agreement on the opening of further consulates in Poland and the Federal Republic, that would be a clear sign of a better future for travel and economic cooperation on a firm-to-firm basis.

Further consulates could be set up in the ports of Szczecin or Gdansk which are closely linked by trade to the North Sea ports. Cracow, the most famous tourist attraction and focal point of cultural life, could be a good place for a cultural centre.

A consulate could also be opened in Katowice, the centre of the Polish industrial belt in which several hundred experts from the Federal Republic are already at work fostering contacts that should lead to long-term cooperation.

Polish interest in cultural contacts can be clearly seen above and beyond the spectacular exchanges of orchestras or drama groups. More and more books from the Federal Republic are finding inclusion in university libraries from Warsaw to Poznan and they are being studied. A doctorate on Hildegard Knef's *Gift Horse* is currently being completed at Wroclaw University.

German courses at the universities of Cracow, Poznan and Wroclaw do not only have courses on Weimar Classicism, like for example Warsaw University. German party programmes are also studied. At present German is registering the highest growth rate of all foreign languages that can be taken as voluntary subjects. Texts are therefore needed.

Problems facing the future cultural department will be due less to Polish reservations than to the suspicions of our competitors in Warsaw – the German Democratic Republic's cultural centre. Though a firm date had been fixed for the screening of Gustaf Gründgens' *Faust* film at Warsaw University, it was suddenly dropped at the instigation of the GDR cultural representative.

In case there should be minor irritation of this sort, it must be remembered that the communique issued after Chancellor Brandt's visit to Warsaw to sign the treaty of normalisation expressly stated that the "extensive development" of relations should be fostered in particular in the cultural sector. A cultural agreement between Bonn and Warsaw is part of the medium-term programme.

The most important changes must however occur in a sector where treaties are no help. "All Germans had and still have Hitler in their blood," one market stallholder was heard to say to another the other day. Why she said this remained unclear. Perhaps there was no real reason – they may have been just chatting.

Behaviour towards individual Germans, especially those from the Federal Republic, towards tourists, visitors and guests of all types is irreproachable. But there are still deep-seated psychological barriers in Poland against the Germans as an abstract quantity.

These barriers must be eliminated by the Poles themselves, the trauma must be overcome by their own willpower. No outside help is of any use. This is a sphere in which a person is unable to change much. He must just look on and see whether anything is changing.

There are signs that this waiting is worthwhile. *Zycie Warszawy* the other day reviewed a book dealing with the patriotic upbringing of the young. With lack of inhibition rare in this sphere, the book criticises the fact that "we prefer to derive the principles for our attitude towards our environment from tradition, especially the more recent tradition of war and occupation, and ignore the realities of the world around us.

"It is obvious," the book continues, "that our children know more about the political organisation of the underground movement during the years of occupation than of productivity in the various European countries and the demands made on people by production techniques. They know even less about the political consequences of such realities.

"It is a fact that our programme of social upbringing looks back to the past, impeding the process of recovery after the trauma of the events of war and allowing no full knowledge of the international conditions in which we live."

Whether the progress we await in relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany is to have a meaning or not will depend on the progress made in this uninhibited attitude.

Bernard Heimrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 September 1972)

Emphasis on youth in Bonn-Warsaw relations

The two ministers conducted extensive talks on the further development of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland and on international problems of mutual interest. Negotiations were marked by the desire for further normalisation and long-term peaceful co-operation between the two countries.

The two ministers stressed that the implementation of the treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland as well as the treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is an important contribution to detente and the consolidation of peace in Europe.

The two governments have decided to open diplomatic relations, to establish immediately embassies in Bonn and Warsaw and appoint ambassadors.

During the course of negotiations humanitarian problems were discussed along with questions relating to passenger traffic between the two countries.

The two ministers discussed the state of relations and observed with satisfaction that progress had been possible in a number of spheres in developing these relations. Both sides underlined the importance of economic and trading relations and agreed to aim at overcoming

Hannoversche Allgemeine

difficulties cropping up and creating the conditions for their further development. They pointed to the importance of industrial cooperation and stated that the possibility of creating suitable conditions for its development should be examined. Both sides also called for the further expansion of scientific and technical cooperation.

The ministers advocated extending co-operation in the arts, sciences and culture generally.

Considering the role played by the young generation of both countries in the process of normalisation of relations, the two ministers supported an extension of contacts between the youth of the two States.

The two ministers judge favourably the previous course of the work conducted by groups of experts examining the contents of school text-books. They displayed their interest in ending this work as speedily as possible and putting in effect the agreements thereby reached.

The two ministers affirmed their belief that all the above-mentioned forms of cooperation will contribute to better relations and understanding between the peoples of the two countries.

The ministers stated in agreement that the current development of the situation encourages the opening of multilateral talks to prepare a conference on security and cooperation in Europe. Both sides declared that they would make every effort for the success of this conference.

Both sides agreed to continue political consultations. Specialist negotiations should contribute to the development of relations in various spheres.

The two ministers expressed their satisfaction about the exchange of opinions that had taken place and stated their conviction that the visit of Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski will contribute to expanding existing relations.

Minister Stefan Olszowski repeated in the name of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, Edward Gierek, the wish for a meeting between the two statesmen expressed on an earlier occasion by Federal Chancellor Brandt.

Minister Stefan Olszowski invited the Federal Foreign Minister, Walter Scheel, to visit Poland. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction. The dates for these meetings will be arranged via diplomatic channels.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 September 1972)

■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Schmidt proposes methods to check inflationary spiral

Federal Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt has suggested to his European counterparts a savings programme organised by the banks of issue. The idea is to make the amount of money in circulation diminish and thus dry up the supply of the all too plentiful lubricant that keeps the wheels of economies turning at an inflationary rate.

In just the past two years the amount of money floating around the Western world and feeding the fires of inflation has increased by as much as it did in the previous *twenty-five* years! The Bretton Woods monetary system has become the perfect inflationary merry-go-round. Scarcely any country has been able to resist the temptation to pursue a policy of easy money, that is to say of super-abundant money.

What are the chances of Schmidt's scheme for drying up the amount of money in circulation succeeding? The idea of reducing the increase in the amount of money in circulation from the present twenty per cent to about half that rate is modest, and at the same time adventurous.

It is modest because a ten-per-cent increase in the year is still too much while the supply of available goods is only increasing by about five per cent.

The gap between supply and demand would thus be narrowed, but it would not be closed completely.

But the Schmidt plan is ambitious, too, because the worldwide international enmeshment of economies, the system of fixed parities, and the planned European Monetary Union mean that policies to control the amount of money in circulation are not a matter for any one State and the idea of keeping down the amount of money in circulation is not readily accepted by everyone everywhere as a good thing.

Schmidt was thus quite right to take his plan to the European Economics and Finance Ministers rather than to the Presidents of the Bundesbank. Efforts to get the Bundesbank to cut back the amount of money in circulation would inevitably not be blessed with success, unless the other European partner countries joined it.

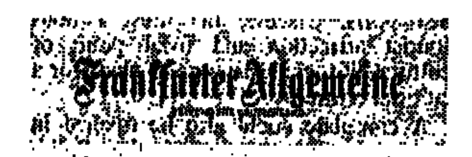
Foreign trade and the Mark

This was shown clearly during the last economic cycle. Foreign trade prevented the Bundesbank from keeping the value of the Mark stable and the Bank was even unable to cut down the amount of money in circulation. Its deflationary policy of high interest rates was undermined, since other countries offered credit at cheap rates.

The whole Schmidt programme stands or falls on the readiness of the EEC and the United States to cooperate. The USA is an important factor, since it has been up till now the largest and most imperturbable producer of liquid money.

It is most likely that agreement will be reached on the techniques of the monetary restriction policy, but there are as yet no firm ideas on how the actual amount of money in circulation can be curbed. The Bundesbank is working in cooperation with the Federal Economic Affairs Ministry to produce plans to this effect.

So far it seems there are two schemes to choose from, differing in the main in their degree of compatibility with the principles of private enterprise. One is a



direct credit ceiling. Banks would be told just how much credit they could give their clients irrespective of their reserves.

In the short run a credit ceiling would most likely be effective. But it would entail a far-reaching inroad into the freedom of banks. Helmut Schmidt has made it clear he is unwilling to resort to these tactics while a solution compatible with free enterprise is available.

The second possibility, a kind of minimum reserve scheme for credit would work in this way: every bank would be expected to deposit a certain percentage of each sum granted to a client in credit with the Bundesbank at nil interest. This scheme therefore does not involve direct limitation of amounts of loans, but is based on an increase in the cost of loans so that bank clients will presumably not demand such large amounts. In this manner the amount of cash available could be cut indirectly, but in a manner conforming to the system.

No plan for cutting down liquidity can be successful without the government's interfering with the banks' room for manoeuvre. This purely technical matter will presumably not bother our EEC partners unduly. Many of the banks in other European countries are already less free from government interference than ours.

But there is some doubt about how willing other EEC countries will be to go along with Schmidt's plan from economic policy considerations.

For partially understandable reasons they are bent on economic expansion and they will be at the best half-hearted about a policy of hard-to-get credit. In the forthcoming negotiations the Federal Republic must assert that it is not prepared to buy European goodwill at any price and is not going to angle for willing markets in return for moth-eaten money.

If the worst comes to the worst it will be essential to pursue a European policy geared to near crisis in order to prevent the European Union becoming more than at present an inflationary community.

But even the projected European currency policy falls short for as long as the United States continues to flood the Western world with dollars.

Protection in the sore spot, foreign trade, is vital. If political calculations are to exclude isolationism and foreign exchange controls there is no alternative but to make the currency exchange system more flexible. While there is no successful worldwide agreement on monetary policies, and the prospects for this look fairly bleak, an elastic foreign exchange system must do the job of allowing every country to formulate a currency policy that fits in with its economic policy aims and which it considers in its own best interests.

The Schmidt Plan for a policy of tighter monetary controls is indissolubly connected with the reform of the international monetary system.

But even thereafter there is still a long way to go before the flow of money is at least partially dammed. As a result of the Schmidt Plan a greater part of stabilisation policy could in the long run devolve to the Bundesbank.

But this will not release the State from its stabilisation policy duties. A shortage of money is only one of the prerequisites for stability. An unlimited flood of expenditure on the basis of financing that is full of chicanery but dubious in the extreme is not at all compatible with stability.

Hans Barbier

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 September 1972)

Bonn calls for lower tariffs

The Bonn government will press for a lowering of customs barriers to all outside countries and further trade policy measures at the next session of the EEC Council of Ministers. The Commission is then to work on and develop proposals along these lines, according to the Parliamentary State Secretary at the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, Hans Hermsdorf.

This proposal obviously complements the EEC stabilisation programme of concerted currency policies suggested by Helmut Schmidt. The Bonn government hopes that such liberalisation would have the effect of dampening down prices.

And a liberalisation of inner-Community trading by means of an advancement of lowering of customs barriers would also be approved by the Federal government.

But Bonn does not expect this to have such a powerful price checking effect as a general lowering of tariffs. Hans Hermsdorf added that Helmut Schmidt and M. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing have managed to reach agreement over a wide area with regard to a joint anti-inflation programme.

(Handelsblatt, 13 September 1972)

Consumer spree continues

Since the dim and distant past fluctuations in the intensity of private consumer demand have been one of the main gauges of the state of the economy. The development of private spending almost made a study of the overall situation possible without reference to other factors. But it seems that this no longer applies.

In 1971, for example, all the economic signals were switched to red, the temporary tax surcharge and the black outlook for the future of industry made it look as though there would be a decline in demand for private consumer goods, and yet the public kept the cash registers ringing.

Many capital investment goods fairs in recent years have borne the mark of pessimism. Yet the same could not be said of any of the consumer goods fairs. Traders have been able to place handsome orders with confidence. Consumers went on buying and buying.

Looking at this year's autumn fairs the picture would not seem to have changed at all. The Frankfurt Autumn Fair, the Offenbach Leatherware Fair, Düsseldorf's Igedo and even Cologne's Underwear and Corsetry Fair do not show signs of more caution from consumers.

Although individual successes have varied somewhat and the number of visitors has been lower than in previous years and the haggling was hard the overwhelming opinion was that consumers are not going to let the side down.

At least Christmas should bring bumper business even though exhibitors in Frankfurt, Offenbach, Düsseldorf and Cologne say that business has only been slightly better than last year's. Evaluation of achievements must take the Munich Olympics into account, as they may have detracted from many a business deal.

All in all there is unbroken optimism that has not been clouded by price rises. Orders have kept coming in, even though in places, for instance Offenbach, it has been necessary to swallow price rises of up to ten per cent.

There seems to be no clear reason for this optimism. A rise in the cost of living of far more than five per cent was not even enough to keep consumers away from the shops and traders are continuing optimistic, basing their calculations on their past experiences with their "always right" customers.

The explanation that the repayment of Karl Schiller's ten-per-cent tax surcharge is responsible for the splurge of consumer spending is not wholly satisfactory.

No one yet knows exactly into what channels this repayment has flowed. Of course a large part of it will have been spent on holidays, but we cannot yet be sure whether other countries received the lion's share of the benefit.

There was certainly a scuffle in this country among tradespeople and others to get their hands on the money. Finance houses devised a number of schemes whereby their subscribers could invest the money to good purposes. We can be sure already that a good part of the repayment made its way into banks. According to the Bundesbank the number of deposit accounts held in this country increased over the year by fourteen per cent.

But even if the best part of the money went to the tourism industry abroad and into savings accounts there must still have been a considerable amount used for private consumer activity. There can be no question of "rush buying", but the fact that the return of Schiller's ten per cent stimulated consumer activity cannot easily be denied.

On the other hand there has been a marked increase in investment buying. Despite rapidly rising building and housing costs the housing industry reports continually rising demand. The thesis on which estate agents and house purchasers seem to work is that a house may cost far more today than it did yesterday, but even that will be far less than its price tomorrow! Unfortunately it is difficult to disprove this.

In fact consumers everywhere are working on the theory that whatever they buy tomorrow will cost more than it does today, so buy today. This is sheer capitulation to inflation and no one can deny it is happening.

In 1973 consumers will have higher taxes to contend with. No one can predict whether this will dampen down the will to spend. In theory purchasing power must be reduced, but the consumer has had plenty of experience in how to budget for inflation and hence reduced spending power, and so it is reasonable to expect very little diminution in consumer demand.

We must realise that for the consumer today spending his income is the only way he can see of "saving" it from inflation. In this light it would be wrong to continue to view the consumer as a known factor in the economic setup.

Government offices are leading the way by showing that it is better to give than receive money. But the outcome of spend, spend, spend is inevitably bills, bills, bills.

Hanspeter Müller

(Handelsblatt, 12 September 1972)

■ COMMERCE

Joint advertising schemes grow in popularity

Advertising associations in this country work for all kinds of commodities and organisations from gentlemen's hats to liquid gas, from feather beds to prefabricated reinforced steel parts, from leather to oil stoves, from toys to flowers and beer to bitumen, from milk to fold-away cartons. They advertise wine and wood, packaging for glass and specialised telephone books, varnish paints and insurance, tin and savings banks.

In a report on advertising through the medium of associations the Confederation of Federal Republic Industries (BDI) and the Federal Republic Rationalisation Board for Economic Affairs (RKW) state that a total of 111 advertising associations is working in this country. They are known on a nationwide, or at least more than localised basis, but already some of them have been wound up or have entered into premature retirement.

Seventy-two of them took part in a survey conducted by the BDI and the RKW and the results were highly interesting.

Agriculture accounts for no less than fourteen of the associations thanks to the Central Marketing Society of Federal Republic Agriculture (CMA) while foodstuffs and catering have 21 advertising associations. Buildings, textiles and household articles as well as service industries also claim a large section of the total number.

The backing for these advertising associations comes mainly from industries associations, which support 59 of the 72 surveyed. The other thirteen are supported directly by a firm or firms directly. In the case of seven of the associations more than ten industries associations provide the backing. But in most cases only one industries association is responsible.

The number of firms that have a say and have to pay ranges from four in certain cases to forty, sixty, eighty, 170, 280 and in one case as many as 700 firms.

It is not only the companies directly affected that take part, but often their suppliers, companies that further process their products and even foreign partner firms. One quarter of the associations covered by the survey have involvements with foreign companies and groups, but usually individual companies. There have also been agreements on cooperation with advertising associations in other countries in Europe. Despite the difficulties of arranging joint advertising ventures beyond national borders foreign participation in the associations suveyed has increased by one third in five years.

One clear change that has taken place concerns the legal form. A number of associations have changed from being registered societies to become companies under the civil code or limited companies (GmbH). Others are departments in an association or non-registered societies. According to the BDI and RKW tax consideration (turnover tax and corporation tax) are behind these changes.

The repeated demand that the circle of associated advertisers should cover about eighty per cent of turnover in the affected branch, so that not too many companies jump on the bandwagon and enjoy these advertising activities (which can easily be avoided by the use of association emblems) is not adhered to by all associations.

Five of them advertise for less than fifty per cent of companies in the particular branch of the economy, 35 of them cover 75 to one hundred per cent and nine of them between 50 and 74 per cent.

It is also essential for them to be able to rely on sufficient finances, so that from this point of view at least they can keep their heads above water. Associated advertisers were not keen to divulge the facts and figures concerning such a tricky part of their business, but from the few answers that were received it was possible to deduce that generally the sum provided for the associations was a percentage of annual turnover or was based on kilogram, ton, square metre or item sales. In other cases special rates have been worked out (as a percentage of the contribution to the employers association), contributions are made as they become necessary or occasional promotional subsidies are granted. Otherwise the associations rely on voluntary payments or have worked out their finances in some other fashion.

Rigid adherence of percentages of the previous year's turnover, the BDI and RKW warn, does not fit in with up-to-date advertising campaigns, although of course the same applies to those firms that organise their advertising individually.

The survey report points out that the widespread gradation of rates according to the amounts sold and the price per unit entails the risk of the associations having to cope with constantly fluctuating budgets. All their planning is then carried out under an air of uncertainty.

It recommends that each year overall sums should be allocated, based on the nature of the companies involved. In this way an association can plan advertising campaigns over a long term. Ten years as a minimum, the report recommends.

There has been joint advertising since the twenties in certain branches; savings banks (since 1924), steel and iron products (1927) and life insurance (1928) The bitumen industry has used this system since 1930.

Of the 72 associations 67 divulged the scope of their budget. Thirty-nine have more than one million Marks at their disposal, but fifteen have to make do with less than 250,000 Marks. Those with million-plus budgets are increasing in number while fewer now have to work on a shoestring. The survey report surmises that it has been generally recognised that the minimum amount of money made available to the associations must be at a higher level than for individual advertising. In 1971 and 1972 the budgets remained the same for the most part. The number of firms that increased their allocation was almost exactly equalled out by those that cut their back. The BDI-RKW report states that the total expenditure of the 67 associations was about 101 million Marks, double the figure for 1966. This was by no means entirely a result of rising prices, but resulted from the awareness that an insufficient budget precludes an effective advertising campaign.



Indrofa 72

More than 400 exhibitors from 14 different countries attended the Düsseldorf exhibition Indrofa 72 dealing with beauty, health and hygiene aids. In the health section this male skeleton made of glass was on show. (Photo: NOWEA)

The advertising committees which 56 of the associations have are formed of three, five, nine, fifteen, sometimes up to 25 and in a few cases as many as forty members. Forty-seven associations work in conjunction with advertising agencies. Only eight trust entirely in their own luck. The report points out the value of the know-how an advertising agency can impart and the way an outside agency can mediate and smoothe over internal difficulties.

As far as the media are concerned commercial television is gaining in importance.

The report concludes that clubbing together to advertise has long since proved its worth, but that difficulties which have been pinpointed still cause friction. The survey clearly shows why.

Old ideas that were once successful are not necessarily of much help in communal advertising ventures. As Herbert Gross stresses: "New argumentations based on new styles of consumer activity, opening up a new place in society for the product and the branch, are required."

A branch of the economy has to streamline itself, appeal to the new wishes of consumers and come up with new products.

Bernd Foltin

(Handelsblatt, 13 September 1972)

Despite increased sales stocking manufacturers are worried

Experts in the nylon stocking industry have some interesting figures: women in the Federal Republic, who have been the world's most prolific stocking buyers for years, are buying more and more. The average is now 27 pairs of stockings and tights every year for women between sixteen and sixty. The reason for the numerical increase is that prices have remained fairly stable so that it is now scarcely dearer to buy a new pair than to mend a ladder.

Tights have cornered about three-quarters of the market and so the average price per pair for them is relatively higher than for stockings — 2 Marks 54 Pfennigs. The price direct from the factory is generally 1 Mark 85 Pfennigs. The total turnover for stockings and tights is between 1,500 and 1,800 million Marks. On average every woman in this country spends 73 Marks per annum for stockings and tights.

But despite continued increases in sales Federal Republic manufacturers — and the top four have cornered half the market — are worried.

Tights certainly proved to be one of the most enduring of women's fashions. But it is because of them that manufacturers state that their sales hopes have not been fulfilled. In the first six months of 1972 the growth in sales of tights was only three per cent while there was a further four per cent decline in stocking sales.

More than six months ago rumours went the rounds that some factories would have to close and in some cases production would have to be transferred to other countries. A degree of calm has returned to the industry, however. In recent weeks sales have been given a boost by the non-summer. Manufacturers are expecting satisfactory increases in sales for the current year.

In the past stockings were always sold by specialist dealers, that is to say drapery shops and clothing chain-stores. But today there can be bought in all kinds of shop. This new method of distribution was first tried by the Westphalian manufacturers Schulte & Diekhoff, self-styled largest manufacturers of stocking in the world.

Other manufacturers quickly followed their lead and attempted to get their wares on the shelves of corner stores and foodstuffs chains. In some cases they diversified and produced stockings under a brand name other than their mayor selling line.

At the moment 63 per cent of stockings and 48 per cent of tights sold change hands in food stores or supermarkets. Sometimes food stores and supermarkets use stockings at knock-down prices as a bait to lure the housewife in. Often these stockings are specially produced packages contained well-known brands but under an unknown name.

Last year the total number of stockings and tights produced in this country was 575 million. This year production should climb above the 600 million mark. Export-import trade plays a comparatively minor role. This year exports will be 150 million pairs worth 137 million Marks. The greater number will be tights.

At the same time imports will be 190 million pairs worth 167 million Marks, with tights again being in a preponderance.

The industry is troubled by cheap imports from communist countries which have raised objections from the industry that these countries are dumping goods. As there is greater liberalisation of textile imports from the East Bloc this cheap competition is likely to increase rather than decrease. Several manufacturers have stated that as a result of fierce international competition in the synthetic fibres industries yarn prices are lower than twelve months ago, so at least from the point of view of raw materials there is no immediate need for price increases. Factories are not producing their full potential at present, the gap being given as between fifteen and twenty per cent according to viewpoint, and so it is unlikely that price increases will occur in the immediate future.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 September 1972)

■ AVIATION

Dornier – in the aircraft industry since the era of Zeppelins

Dornier are one of the oldest firms in aero engineering, having evolved from the Do Division of Zeppelin in 1914, Count Zeppelin, the airship pioneer, having commissioned development projects on large aircraft from a research division headed by Claude Dornier.

Dornier now rate as a medium-sized firm in the international aerospace market and have a staff of 7,800 on their payroll.

The Dornier group consists of Dornier AG, specialising in aircraft manufacture, Dornier System GmbH, specialising in space research and development, Dornier Reparaturwerft GmbH, specialising in the servicing and maintenance of military aircraft, and Lindauer Dornier GmbH, manufacturing textile machinery and plastics processing plant.

Dornier made a name for themselves decades ago with the latest in flying boats and commercial aircraft. Models that spring to mind are the Whale class flying boats, the Do X flying boat mammoth and the Komet and Merkur airliners flown by Lufthansa in the twenties.

In the period between the wars many Dornier aircraft set up records and pioneered routes of one kind and another at regular intervals. The firm's name was a household word.

After the Second World War competition on international markets proved considerably more difficult. Dornier reckoned they stood their best chance of holding their own in the development of short and vertical take-off techniques.

DAS PARLAMENT

This was the sector on which the firm concentrated from 1955 onwards.

Work began on a range of short take-off multi-purpose aircraft starting with the single-engined Do 27, the twin-engined Do 28 and the considerably larger fifteen-seater Dornier Skyservant, which is currently in production and sold to both military and civilian operators.

These sturdy multi-purpose aircraft have sold well over the past fifteen years and Dornier have sold more aircraft abroad in relation to domestic sales than any other manufacturer in this country.

Nearly 1,000 aircraft in this category have been exported to over forty countries all over the world. They have also been bought by the Bundeswehr. By the end of 1973 the armed forces will have taken delivery of 125 Skyservants.

Despite sales successes it is clear that Dornier, in common with other aircraft manufacturers in this country, are having an extremely hard time holding their own against international competition. What they particularly lack are long-term, low-interest credit facilities such as have grown customary in international aviation.

From the viewpoint of technical quality aircraft manufactured in this country, particularly Dornier export models, would stand a far better chance of doing well on world markets if only credit facilities comparable with those offered by foreign competitors could be offered.

Short take-off aircraft have been manufactured in long runs for years. Vertical take-off techniques are still at the experimental stage, though impressive basic work has been accomplished with future developments in mind.

At the end of the fifties Dornier developed the Do 29, an experimental model with adjustable propellers that was capable of extremely short take-offs and provided a considerable amount of know-how for further development of VTOL aircraft.


(Photo: Dornier)

From about 1960 on development work on the Do 31, the world's first vertical take-off jet transport aircraft, was commissioned by the Defence Ministry.

Trials of the 25-ton prototype were conducted between 1967 and 1970 and proved in practice that the Dornier technique was a viable proposition.

This unique aircraft is viewed with interest by aviation specialists all over the world. At Dornier's Oberpfaffenhofen, Munich, works airstrip Nasa, the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration, conducted six months of trials with the aim of probing the feasibility of the Dornier vertical take-off concept for future civilian use.

Nasa test pilots were so satisfied with the Do 31 that the Dornier model can justifiably be regarded as the precursor of all future civilian and military vertical take-off transport aircraft.

The Economic Affairs Ministry invited tenders for a 100-seater vertical take-off commercial airliner. The project design submitted by Dornier, the Do 231 — based, of course, on the Do 31 — won hands down.

For many years Dornier have also been engaged in intensive work on helicopter development, first and foremost the reaction rotor principle, which is so simple that it obviates the need for clutch, gears, shafts and the tail rotor.

Long years of intensive development work have laid a sound foundation for future helicopter designs the further development of which will largely depend on military requirements, however.

Considerable interest has nonetheless already been shown in an unmanned moored rotor platform, the Dornier Kiebitz, a successor to the barrage balloon of old. The Kiebitz can be moored at a height of 300 metres (1,000 ft) and house sensors, cameras, aerials and equipment of many kinds.

An experimental model has already undergone trials and Dornier are now working on an operational device that can be subjected to intensive field trials by the armed forces.

In addition to these developments exclusive to Dornier the firm is also engaged in production and development work on a number of joint and licence projects.

Dornier are, for instance, the main contractor for the Fiat G 91 fighter and the Bell UH 1-D transport helicopter. They are also sub-contractors for the Lockheed F 104 G Starfighter, the C 160 Transall transport plane and the Sikorsky CH 53 G helicopter.

The Breguet Atlantic, a seagoing reconnaissance plane used in a number of Nato countries, is also a Dornier co-project. Dornier are responsible not only for a fair proportion of construction work but also had a major say in development and design of individual components.

The latest project and the most important for the years to come is the Alpha jet, a twin-engined two-seater trainer and lightweight fighter that is under development in conjunction with Dassault-Breguet of France.

The design submitted by the two firms emerged as the winner of a design contract put out to tender some years ago. Four prototypes are currently under construction and due to undergo flight trials at the end of next year.

Series production is scheduled to commence in 1975 and the French and Federal Republic air forces will each take delivery of 200 Alphas.

The Alpha also stands a fair chance of being ordered by other countries. It is, when all is said and done, the most advanced aircraft in existence in its category.

Well over 1,000 Alpha jets will probably be manufactered over the next few years, half each in France and this country.

The Dornier System division has in recent years emerged as a force to be reckoned with in international aerospace technology. For many years Dornier have been the main contractors for more than 100 payload cones for high-altitude research rockets launched by Esro, the European Space Research Organisation.

First space satellite

Dornier were also largely responsible for this country's first space satellite, the Azur, and the US-Federal Republic Helios solar probe.

After comparison of tenders the Education and Science Ministry has commissioned Dornier as the main contractors for the Aeros, this country's second space satellite, which is scheduled to be put into orbit from the United States this autumn.

The Aeros will boast a number of technical innovations hitherto unknown even in the United States, such as Dornier's active magnetic position regulator system.

In future Dornier plan to play an increasing part in the development and construction of launcher rocket systems. The Dornier System division is, for instance, already involved in work on a project study for the intermediate structure and separator system for the projected new European launcher rocket, the Europa III.

This diversified programme ought to ensure for Dornier continued status as an independent operator in international aerospace engineering. Both within Europe and overseas there is an increasing trend towards cooperation with other firms.

In following suit Dornier are taking into account the nowadays indispensable international links in aviation and aerospace technology.

Franz Luber

(Das Parlament, 16 September 1972)

Praise for civil pilots

Münchner Merkur

In international civil aviation statistics Federal Republic pilots deserve top marks for safety. According to Karl Kössler, head of the Federal Aviation Authority in Brunswick, Federal Republic planes have been involved in only two crashes since 1966.

In 1966 a Lufthansa plane crash-landed near Bremen. In 1971 a Paninternational airliner crashed near Hamburg. There were 42 and 21 fatalities respectively.

In relation to the distances covered and the number of landings and take-offs civil aviation in this country is thus well below the world average where accidents and air crashes are concerned.

Over the six years between 1966 and 1971 international airlines, excluding charter operators, marked up 0.29 crashes with fatalities per 100,000 flight hours, or 0.36 crashes per 100,000 landings.

The figures for regular services run by Federal Republic operators are 0.08 and 0.11 respectively and the figures for Federal Republic charter firms 0.21 and 0.36.

In terms of hours in the air both airlines and charter firms in this country have proved less accident-prone than the average in international civil aviation.

In terms of the number of landings charter operators are on a par with the international average whereas on regular services this country's pilots have established safety standards three times as high as those current in the rest of the world.

Were the international average to be applied to flights operated by Federal Republic airlines, Kössler stated, a crash and deaths on regular services could be expected every eighteen months to a year and three-quarters. In charter traffic a crash could be expected once every five years.

This frequency has yet to be achieved by either, which only goes to show that both regular and charter flights in this country are statistically safer than their reputation.

Walter Baier

(Münchner Merkur, 14 September 1972)

THE ARTS

Tahon's puppets enchant Berlin audiences

DIE WELT

Whenever audiences begin to think they have seen everything and claim that the theatre cannot offer them much more that is new a magician comes along to dispel this partly inbred and partly innate ennui.

In this case the magician is André Tahon, a Parisian. During the Berlin Festival he presented the audience at the Berliner Theater with his *marottes* – a revue of surprises, of a thousand perfectedly directed jests, the most charming show for years.

It is aimed at children and the elderly and all generations in between, it makes audiences scream with delight, it entertains in the most intelligent way possible, it enchants, satisfies and astonishes. Tahon seems in some undefinable way to be a distant relation of the pied piper of Hamelin.

He does not even play the lead role. That is performed by his *marottes*, puppets in their simplest form, the forerunners of marionettes, bundles of material with dangling arms and legs, round heads and wide eyes.

Nothing could be simpler – and nothing more complicated. There seems to be little you can do with these gay though awkward monsters. They look clumsy and inexpressive. They may be pretty to look at, they may appear comic but one glance is enough.

The impossible possible

But this is not the case where Tahon is concerned. He makes the impossible possible. He breathes eccentric life into these lifeless dolls. They move at his command.

But he has more than puppets. He populates the stage with fabulous animals. He adds effect to effect. His figures move according to a well-rehearsed choreography.

He makes them gallop. They romp around stage singing with joy. They appear to be a living extension of his fingers. Tahon — the Cecil B. de Mille of puppetry.

But there is no trace of the pathetic about him. He never describes his talent as art. He leaves that to the untalented of whom there is no shortage. He calls his puppet revue a *divertissement* — and it is too: it is a diversion originating from the smallest of areas but giving the greatest of pleasure to young and old.

It has taken a long time for Tahon to come to this country with his ensemble. He has already been half round the world and, very successfully too, as can be imagined.

But a charmeur and perfectionist like Tahon probably saw little sense in exposing his talents to the barbs of people in a country where the most eccentric experiments and the most gloomy theatrical brooding can count on public response while non-ideological gaiety is condemned.

Tahon's originality is far from in keeping with the times. But it is not this disregard for fashion that makes his work so original. The characteristic feature of his productions is the harmony between their simplicity and subtlety, born of a playful imagination combining music, chat, choreography and dialogue.

It is not the puppets alone that provide the charm of these performances, it is not the manner in which they are manipulated either. Tahon manages to captivate his audiences with unparalleled majestic nonchalance. He rouses their enthusiasm for a spell away from theatrical melancholy and demonstrates that so-called minor art can far surpass its much-discussed big brother.

Tahon stimulates his audiences' attention. He provides a banquet for the eye. He arouses imagination. He awakens the child-like qualities still found in adult men and women without appearing stupid to them.

The simplest is just good enough for him. There is none of the artificiality that seems to have affected art in recent years. Even the puppets do not have to suffer the wire skeleton that modern artistic axioms would seek to impose. They are of flesh and blood, one could say, and that is the effect they have despite their puppet-like nature.

The most charming feature of the performance is however the deliberately exposed back-stage operations. The audiences are shown the puppeteers in their impeccable costumes.

The spotlight homes on their otherwise hidden world, showing how they manipulate their puppets, their picturesque menagery of caterpillars, cats, cows, blackbirds, ostriches, mice and men who race around each other, have adventures, love, laugh and cause laughter. Tahon takes us on a safari that zoologists can only dream of.

Klaus Geitel

(Die Welt, 13 September 1972)



Tahon's puppets (Photo: Ludwig Binder)

Art film centre opens in Cologne

Guests at the opening of "Projection", an art film centre in Cologne, vied with each other in emphatic praise. It was attractive because of its Parisian flair, they said, because of the park on the other side of the road, the trendy suburbian bars in the neighbourhood or its whitewashed facade immediately distinguishing it from the grey buildings in the grey courtyard.

In short, visitors described it as something special amid the everyday irrelevance. Whatever the case, Cologne, the centre of the Federal Republic's art world, now has an artfilm centre of considerable standing with Ursula Wevers' "Projection".

The art film is a genre of contemporary creative art that has not yet gained wide public attention. The art film also demonstrates the once again changed or expanded self-awareness of the film as a medium. A young generation of creative artists uses celluloid to make films as art, though not to extend the limits of the medium of film as film as has happened from way back in the twenties in Germany right up to the New American Cinema. The Venice Biennale and Kassel documenta this year show that creative artists have other aims. This fundamental change was apparent at the two exhibitions. And to open her art film centre Ursula Wevers put on the European premieres of Keith Sonnier's *Hybrid-LIV* and *Channel Mix*. The "Projection" gallery in Cologne will feature in future all artistic genres dependent on [illegible] — film, [illegible], slides and [illegible]. Ursula Wevers considers the main function of her gallery as being to provide a forum for artists using these technical aids as a means of expression. A centre of this type has not been available in Cologne before.

Ursula Wevers plans to help museums turning in a general way to this mode of expression by building up a systematic art film collection. She will also advise museums collecting material and plan art film shows to present these artists to a larger audience. If necessary Ursula Wevers will loan items from her gallery's collection for these art film evenings.

The European premiere of the Sonnier films at the opening of "Projection" is worth special mention as these works had long lain idle in another Cologne gallery. Rolf Ricke, the gallery-owner, represented Sonnier's interests here but had no projection facilities at his disposal. He therefore handed the films over to Ursula Wevers who showed that Sonnier is without doubt one of the most impressive figures in the art film field.

Keith Sonnier prefers to work with videotape. One or more cameras are installed to record a scene. But that is only the start of the process where Sonnier is concerned. He does not normally replay the videotapes as videotapes but transfers them on to film where the lines of the television picture form a special style.

Keith Sonnier's works illustrate the change in the self-awareness of art films as creative art — as opposed to films as films. The audience's conscious or subconscious ideas about the dramatic aspects of film are shattered by his films. Previous experience of watching films is of no avail.

Plot plays no part at all. There is no "content" unless "content" is to be accepted as the formal patterns found in the New American Cinema such as the confrontation of spontaneous and rehearsed human behaviour on the screen as Andy Warhol's *Chelsea Girls*. In general, Sonnier's films can be described as moving fields of colour, a continuation of Abstract Expressionism by other means.

The newly-established "Projection" gallery can make an important contribution towards a general growth of popularity of the art film as a means of expression of contemporary creative art. Its success and general value will have to be judged at a later date.

Klaus U. Reinke

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 September 1972)

New directions

Designer Otto G. [illegible] working in cooperation with [illegible] from [illegible] set out to create new forms of [illegible] using [illegible] Steel [illegible] displayed at the [illegible] Museum (Photo: [illegible])

CENTREPIECE

Feuerbach's religion places Man in the highest position

DIE WELT

Ludwig Feuerbach is one of those personalities of the nineteenth century whose topicality cannot be disputed. This topicality is something that would have to be attributed to him even if he had not played his decisive role in the development of Marxism.

His is one of those productive spirits for which universities have fought on account of the revolutionary changes he portended with a vehemence that is not usually ascribed to learned minds.

In the light of modern-day experiences it is interesting to remember that students got together to make it possible for him to return after many years of exile and lecture to a large audience. Those who are free of Marxist obsessions of the neo-revolutionary awareness and can make their judgments accordingly could speak of a belated triumph of Feuerbach over his more radical disciples in the present day.

The anniversary of his death one hundred years ago not only signifies an historic occasion, but gives us a welcome opportunity to consider the present day as an epoch which is still influenced by him.

The decisive steps that Feuerbach took towards the revolutionary change of thought, a transformation of theology into anthropology, with a justification of mankind's existence in material directness, have become the prerequisites for the self-evident factors of human conflict in our time.

Marx was so taken with the achievements of Feuerbach as an intermediate step on the road to revolutionary practice that he claimed we should all have to go through a Feuerbach stage. Why? Because Feuerbach exercised the criticism that was a basic part of Marxist thought – criticism of historical religious thought. His criticism of religion meant the destruction of theology and the metaphysical foundations that supported it, and the fight against Christendom as an alienating factor for humanity.

Feuerbach's demand for a transformation of theology into anthropology includes his conviction that as far as religion is concerned mankind has created this solely for his own ends. This thought permeated epochs. It leaves mankind only in relationship to Nature and to other men. There are only two realities: society and Nature. But if Man's religious nature had only to do with himself and his place in Nature the question that must be asked is — how was it possible for mankind to delude itself with religion for so long?

In Feuerbach's scheme of things religion appears as a product of the transformation from appearances to reality. This transformation is not recognised in religion and so religion is a product of conscious or unconscious, a chance, or under certain conditions inevitable, deception of mankind about itself.

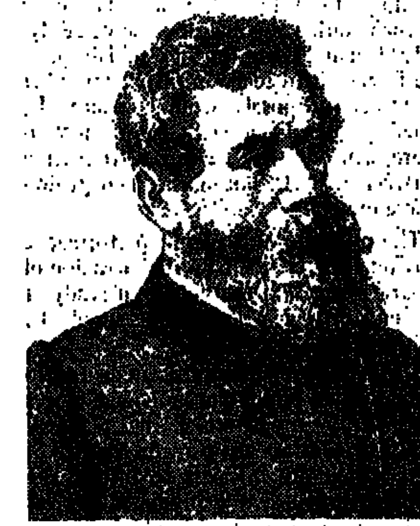
And so criticism of religion takes on the aspect of an enlightenment about this deception. Religion is the embodiment and expression of a self-alienation of mankind.

The changed face of religion as a result of Feuerbach's continuation of enlightened religious criticism has at its core the principle that, for Man, Man is the highest of all beings. So, true religion thereafter must be embodied by the relationship between you and me.

Since Feuerbach only considers real that which can be experienced in material immediacy immediately the sex act becomes the greatest religious sacrament. To this Karl Barth later added the inter-trinity foundation.

There is no answer in Feuerbach's scheme of things to the question of how come Nature produced a dichotomy in its creation of Man. The way had been cleared for the new Nature-religion, and its mythologies. The motive behind Feuerbach's criticism of religions is the practical dissolution of Christianity in the modern society which has broken the power of Nature by means of science and technology, and so, under the terms of a domination of Nature made possible by science and technology, the old religion must be replaced by politics as the new Faith. Sexuality and politics become the two focal points of the religious interpretation of human existence.

Like Marxism, Feuerbach's religious criticism has in the meantime become one



Ludwig Feuerbach (Photo: Ullstein)

of the basic requirements for the determining of the relationship between modern Protestant (and increasingly Catholic as well) theology to religion as a whole. Now Christian theology students have to "go through Feuerbach" (his name means fire-brook) as well.

The recognition of the atheistic results of Feuerbachian religious criticism is, according to the will of modern theology to be a condition for a truly Christian relationship to Christian truth. And since the atheistic prerequisites taken over by Feuerbach are directed against theology itself it is not astonishing that Christian theologians begin to doubt in the possibility of theology more from the point of view of practice than from theory.

What can proceed from a theology that is built up on Feuerbach is today clearer than ever. What Feuerbach wanted has become a largely accepted programme of theology. Politics and sexuality are the concrete forms in which the human being believes he can realise his religious nature.

The God-is-dead theology and the attempts to make of God a certain form of co-human existence have made Feuerbach one of the fathers of the Church in the twentieth century.

It is now all the more important to understand the fates of Marxist thoughts, above all in the Western world, in their origins from the unconquered Feuerbach heritage.

Next to Marx it was Feuerbach who founded "true materialism", the "real science" in which he made the "social relationship of man to man the basic principle". On the other hand Marx did not give as an answer to the question of the basics the extraction of religion from the relationship of Man to Nature. Feuerbach's theory is ideology for him.

The moment of concrete activity, the socio-historical practice is missing. If Marx had to choose between Materialism (and that includes Feuerbach's) and Idealism he would have plumped for Idealism and its truth.

In the abstractly sentimental and unhistorical cult of brotherliness of Feuerbach and his religious interpretation of sexuality he could see nothing more than the reflection of the situation of the petty-bourgeois in the bourgeois society.

Feuerbach's summoning of Nature no longer corresponds to any reality in the modern world. Mere enlightenment on the allegedly fictitious nature of religious objects cannot replace Christianity in the awareness of mankind. This is something that can only be suggested by highbrows and intellectuals who live in ivory towers and are divorced from life. Religion could only, like the State, die out if the proletariat in the revolution removed the real alienation, real because it was occasioned by society.

This revolution has, however, never happened anywhere in the world. The communist countries have thus had to declare Atheism as their national religion. Anti-religious propaganda fights against the arguments of Ludwig Feuerbach under the communist movement.

It is not only in the East that Feuerbach triumphs over his more radical and more philosophical scholars. "The spirit of the age or the future is Realism. The new religion, the religion of the future if politics. In religious, general form its principle is: belief in humanity as the highest and ultimate determining factor of humanity, and a fitting life for mankind with mankind based on this belief."

The last religion

With these words Feuerbach foresaw not the new religion but the last religion of mankind in the industrialised twentieth century. Feuerbach's pious atheism is the self-evident religious attitude in everyday life today in Europe.

All the efforts of Nietzsche and Marx to overcome the sentimental pseudo-religiosity of Feuerbach came to grief on what Feuerbach called the "heart of religion".

We have asked the question once again whether one must go through the fire and water of Feuerbach. The *Bach* has in the meantime become a raging torrent in which we are carried along without any prospects of coming to a shore that could rescue us.

No interpretation, however subtle and speculative, will change this in any way. "Only Man has the right to judge men, only Man knows men. That is to say, Man judges himself, morally directly through himself, through his conscience, politically via a third person."

That is a consequence. If Christianity is practically abolished, then Man is not only the highest being for Man, but he is delivered up to Man irrevocably.

The way in which people in this century have held court over men and continue doing so is the experience on which the new religion of Feuerbach must be measured.

Günter Rohrmoser

(Die Welt, 13 September 1972)

PEN discusses sport and nationalism

Writers and scientists met in Cologne at the invitation of the Federal Republic PEN Centre to discuss "Sport and Nationalism". The theme was to be discussed not from a sporting so much as from an analytical point of view, Heinrich Böll stated categorically.

Peter O. Chotjewitz admitted that this group of writers was not the most competent body to discuss sport. But there were psychologists present who had something to say.

Psychotherapist Paul Platzbecker from Leverkusen spoke of the Olympic Games as a sublimated world war, which, thank God, is still fought on relatively friendly terms. Stadiums were the meeting places not so much of sportsmen as of ideologies and power blocs. The whole trimmings of the Games, such as the expensive buildings, were a status symbol of the host nation to show off its power and wealth.

Psychiatrist Mijnheer van Loggen from The Netherlands called the Olympic Games "a simple, elementary form of war". During the Games the social solitude of a man is lifted and he takes part in "a great movement", something which is usually denied him. He is in the midst of a group, sharing in honour and national pride at winning, national disappointment at failure."

All in all this rather sparsely attended PEN meeting was somewhat confusing. Debates never really got past their preliminary stages, procedural difficulties cropped up and in the end Arno Moody, the coloured American writer, had to plead with participants to stop talking in vague terms about airy-fairy matters and come down to the brass tacks of the murder of the Israeli hostages. At this PEN President Böll said that emotions must be studied very carefully.

Everyone taking part wanted to do something different and agreement was rarely reached on what should actually be discussed.

(Münchner Merkur, 13 September 1972)

Feuerbach exhibition

On the hundreth anniversary of the death of philosopher Luwig Feuerbach on 13 September 1972 PEN President Hermann Kesten opened an exhibition in the municipal library in Nuremberg to the man who called Karl Marx "the vanquisher of the old philosophy". Chief librarian Karlheinz Goldmann has collected books, autographed manuscripts, pictures and personal reminiscences of this independent scholar.

For twelve years Feuerbach lived in Rechenberg, a surburb of Nuremberg, and worked there. Ludwig was born in 1804 in Landshut, the son of legal official Ritter Anselm von Feuerbach. He went to schools in Bamberg and Ansbach and studied in Heidelberg, Berlin and Erlangen.

When his book *Gedanken über Tod und Unsterblichkeit* (Reflections on Death and Immortality) was published in 1830 in Nuremberg it was confiscated and Feuerbach's name was put on the Index as far as lecturing in Erlangen was concerned. Three years before his death the Hegelian left-winger joined the Social Democratic party.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 September 1972)

■ EDUCATION

Ex-State Secretary proposes far-reaching reforms

Having rid herself of the burden of responsibility as State Secretary in the Education and Science Ministry in Bonn, Hildegard Hamm-Brücher has taken a few months rest and drawn up a number of proposals dealing with reform of this country's education system.

Her plans are intended to give fresh impetus to the political discussion on the purpose, content and methods of study, directing it along new lines and eventually leading to sensible reforms.

Hildegard Hamm-Brücher fears that the only result of the Federal Constitutional Court's verdict on university entry restrictions will be what she calls restrictive measures in the form of entry examinations based on doubtful criteria or central admission procedure based on the grades obtained in advanced certificate of education examinations without any reform of study itself.

She hopes to avert this through her plan to make school and university education more easily accessible to all sections of the population, simpler to understand and more successful as far as the development of creative faculties is concerned.

Her proposals centre around the plan to restrict school education to twelve years and scrap certificate of education examinations. Instead, all pupils completing their school studies successfully would be allowed to attend a course of basic study at a comprehensive university.

Graduates of career training courses would also be entitled to enter a comprehensive university but this makes a reform of career training necessary. The course of basic study for students from career training centres would last two years instead of the one year normal in all other cases.

Completing the basic study period successfully would entitle the student to attend his main study courses, the second stage of his university career. This would normally end after two years with final examinations.

At the end of this second stage all graduates would leave university for at least two years, if not for ever. Some would immediately go out to work, others would complete their career training and a third group would undergo practical experience as preparation for an academic career.

Additional stages of university education are envisaged in the form of doctorate courses, courses in another subject, extra-mural studies or further training to intensify what has been learned during the main course of study.

Hildegard Hamm-Brücher told a press conference held in Bonn on 7 September that her proposals would ensure the equality of educational opportunity as there would be easy two-way transition between schools, universities and professional life.

The principle of academic performance was retained, she said, by the provision of separate stages in the course of study at the end of which performance could be judged.

The Free Democrat politician went into greater detail about the individual stages of the study procedure she has planned. Study should not just provide a series of facts which are difficult to utilise, she said. Instead, scientifically-based project study in small groups should help students think, judge and research independently.

Introducing this form of study procedure would not cost all that much money, Hildegard Hamm-Brücher states, and it could be practised at some universities within a few years.

A final examination would mark the end of the basic study period. Passing this with distinction would enable students to embark upon their main courses of university study.



Hildegard Hamm-Brücher
(Photo: Sven Simon)

A straight pass would allow them to attend other institutes of further education at present to be found outside the present university system. These include institutes training technical and medical assistants, businessmen, administrators, technicians and persons wishing to enter the social professions.

An important point in the programme is that the basic courses of study may be taken at a university or they can be taken indirectly by means of a university of the air. Participation would then be open to adults or school-leavers first wishing to gain some practical career training.

The second stage of study — the main course — can be cut to two to three years after the basic information and abilities gained during the basic course of study, especially as further training will form an integral part of the scheme in later years.

During the third stage — after graduation — students will leave university for two years and begin a training course or take a temporary job which will help them in their future career.

Teachers, lawyers and doctors will undertake the second stage of their training during this period. Students aiming at an academic profession can undergo educational training at schools or at basic study level or work in economic, scientific or sociological institutes.

Financial backing during the fourth stage of study would take place according to the post-graduate grants law valid today. Post-graduates would take doctorate courses, choose another subject or do further, more intensive work on the subject they took at main course level.

An important feature of the scheme is that this fourth-stage work could be taken during evening classes. Hildegard Hamm-Brücher believes one merit of her plan lies in the fact that school-leavers will not be forced into university for reasons of prestige as the end of the basic stage will bring the first academic qualifications.

There will no longer be students who spend years studying only to sacrifice all these years' work by giving up before taking final examinations. Specific qualifications will be available at every stage of study and these will open up the student's way into other courses of training or into a profession.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 September 1972)

Extra-Mural Studies Central Bureau asks for more powers

The Central State Bureau for Extra-Mural Studies has been operating in Cologne for more than twelve months. Its main duty is examining the quality and suitability of extra-mural courses intended to prepare students for a State-organised examination.

So far the Central Bureau has made a good job of it. "Things have gone very well," Günter Haagman, the Bureau's head, comments. Eleven extra-mural courses have been dubbed suitable and awarded a seal of approval. Most of these courses are provided by the Stuttgart-based Association for Adult Education.

Haagmann can only provide statistical evidence about the debit side of the balance. Two extra-mural courses have been rejected and seven returned to their organisers with suggestions for improvement.

The Central Bureau reports growing interest from the 150 or so extra-mural study organisers offering correspondence courses leading up to a State examination. But there was little feeling of good relations in the first few months of the Central Bureau's work. Course organisers saw the spectre of censorship and most of them only gradually came around to the idea of having their work inspected by the Central Bureau.

The Central Bureau works on the basis of a State treaty agreed between the Federal states, including West Berlin. It is financed by the North Rhine-Westphalia Education Ministry — this year to the tune of 580,000 Marks. Most of this money is paid to the 130 examiners who now work at the Central Bureau.

The Federal states have drawn up a whole list of conditions that the Central Bureau must heed. The two most important demands can be found at the beginning of the State agreement — extra-mural courses must be irreproachable both as far as the facts and educational method are concerned and the public must be protected against financial exploitation and other unfair practices.

But as praiseworthy as these aims may be, the Central Bureau found that the State set limits on its work from the very outset. Courses can only be examined when the organisers themselves cooperate. Otherwise neither approval nor criticism may be voiced.

A Stuttgart study group concerned with extra-mural studies recognised at the time that the voluntary inspection scheme would only confuse applicants who saw that an organiser had only had a section of his courses certified.

But this is still the case today. The Central Bureau and the education ministers of the Federal states have therefore been considering for some time an amendment to the State treaty which would make the Central Bureau's control more effective.

A step in this direction would however rouse the violent opposition of most organisers of extra-mural courses who do not want their independence encroached upon in any way.

There is no other explanation for the fact that the amendment to the State treaty is taking so long despite general agreement among the Federal states that stricter measures are necessary.

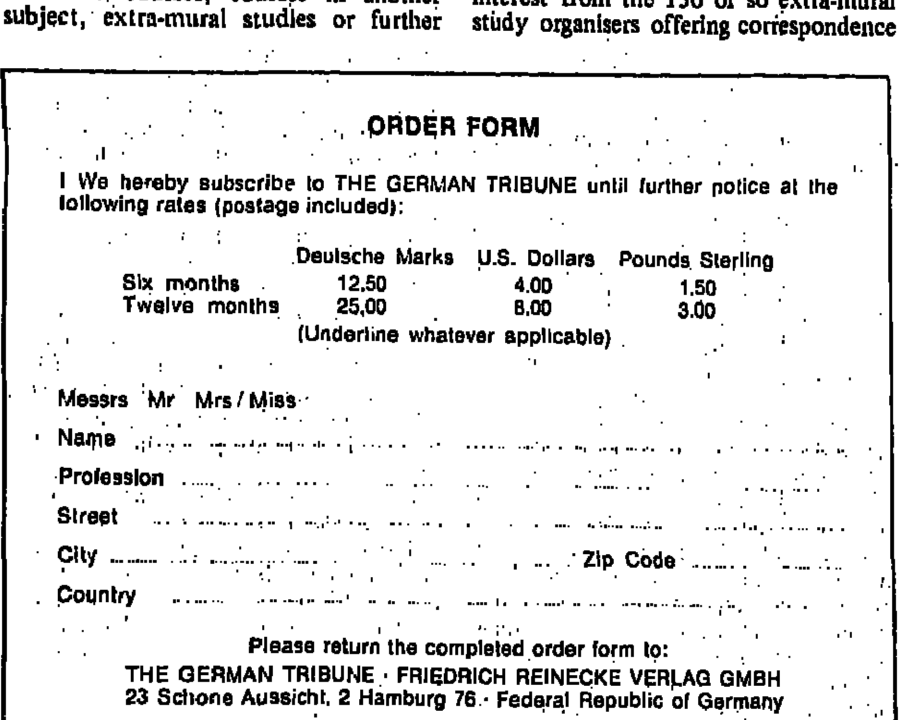
The Cologne Central Bureau is currently sharing work with the Federal Institute for Career Training Research in Berlin. The Institute feels that it is responsible both for extra-mural courses preparing for association examinations and courses of professional training leading to State-recognised qualifications. The Central Bureau disputes this claim, pointing out that the Federal states have supreme jurisdiction over educational matters.

The Central Bureau wants the present voluntary inspection system to be replaced by a scheme obliging the organisers of extra-mural studies to submit their courses to Cologne. This demand is seconded by various backers of extra-mural courses like the Trades Union Confederation.

But the rules cannot be changed without the approval of the Federal states. Until this occurs the Central Bureau is still in the same position outlined in their report: "We have to look on helplessly when courses leading to State examinations are advertised in a sensational manner despite the fact that they will not be successful because of their poor educational conception. There is a shortage of help available to participants of extra-mural courses who have been defrauded by course organisers or their representatives. The Central Bureau cannot take any steps to give course participants adequate protection."

Wolf Scheller

(Der Tagesspiegel, 9 September 1972)



■ MEDICINE

Advice centre for married couples opened in Marburg

The first centre for genetic advice has been opened in Marburg. Married couples will be able to visit the centre during the next three years for free examinations to see whether any children they may have will be born healthy.

"Will our children be healthy or is there a risk of an inherited disease?"; "Can physical and mental malformations be diagnosed during pregnancy and an abortion carried out with full medical consent?"

"Our child has a deformity that has never before occurred in our family. Is it merely the result of an accident before birth or is it hereditary? Will our grandchildren be healthy, or what would be advisable?" Or again: "How high is the risk of parents with a mongol child having further mongol children?"

Human genetics tries to answer these questions. Family trees were the only example of human genetics from Biblical times to the nineteenth century but the science was essentially backward-looking.

It did not become a highly-developed science able to forecast events of human biology until after Augustinian monk Johann Gregor Mendel (1822—1884) discovered that hereditary factors could be calculated according to mathematical formulae.

This and the further perfection of cell microscopics raised human genetics to a rank that is no less important than that of nuclear physics or lunar exploration.

Chromosomes can now be examined and counted. Human genetics is here largely a question of mathematics. During the next stage, consultation with a doctor, it can supply worried couples with useful advice.

The future of a life lasting seventy years and of the next generation can be decided here. It is not a question of manipulating the chromosomes as is sometimes claimed to obtain a sensational effect. Advice never leaves the medical sphere. Forecasts in the field of technology can never be made for longer than a year — here the forecast is for more than seventy years.

Many universities have departments of human genetics. In Marburg the professor of human genetics, Dr Gerhard G. Wendt, has been instrumental in the establishment of the first genetic advice centre.

The centre, opened by State Secretary Ludwig von Manger-König, himself a professor, has been granted 686,850 Marks financial support. The Health Ministry contributed 275,850 Marks and the remaining 411,000 Marks came from the Volkswagen Foundation.

The effectiveness of such a venture will be tested during the next three years in North Hesse, the area around Marburg. But it can already be stated that, compare with the costs involved in nursing those persons with a congenital physical or mental handicap, any investment towards preventing such complaints can be justified economically, as well as morally and from the humanitarian viewpoint.

Over forty diseases are covered by the genetic examinations. They include malformations of various types, hereditary metabolic disorders, various nervous complaints, muscular diseases, certain eye complaints, deafness, skin malformations and disorders in sexual development.

The sex tests carried out during the Olympic Games also come under the heading of human genetics.

Advice, free for people in North Hesse, can now be obtained from the genetic centre in Marburg. The centre employs two doctors and four technical staff and has a car at its disposal.

The car is necessary for two reasons. Married couples who want advice yet have no means of transport can be fetched to the centre and taken home afterwards. Staff can also travel into the country and conduct the interviews thought necessary. There are some hereditary diseases that can only be tracked down in this manner. The findings of these investigations will be useful to the centre.

It is far from correct to assume that the only advice given is not to have children. Many worries can be eliminated and many fears and cases of hopelessness allayed. Couples will sometimes be recommended to have children even though a lay man and perhaps some doctors would warn against this step.

Human genetics cannot avert fate all the time but it can often provide clarity and help prevent misery. It is one of the more forward-looking branches of medicine.

Bernhard Knoche

(Handelsblatt, 5 September 1972)

Doctors call for noise reduction in offices

The General Practitioners Association (NAV) has called upon the Ministry of Labour to issue a series of specifications on the amount of noise office workers can be expected to tolerate.

The Association stated in Cologne on 12 September that noise was as much a health hazard for clerical staff as it was to workers on the factory floor and on building sites.

Noise research must be extended to office working and activities demanding concentration. New specification on noise levels could help to cut down the din often concealed behind concrete and glass, NAV claimed.

It is the so-called brain workers that react particularly sensitively to noise, NVA stated. They are not guaranteed silence even when working five storeys above street level.

Constant exposure to noise during an eight-hour working day, and possibly after work as well, automatically leads to a drop in performance, the Association claimed. It makes people tired and can have a detrimental influence on a person's sight.

NAV pointed out that high nicotine or caffein consumption can also increase a person's sensitivity to noise.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 September 1972)

OUR WORLD

Crowds continue to visit Konrad Adenauer's grave at Rhöndorf

Cars have to be parked at Ziepchen, just in case it is impossible to park at the small square which is occupied by a few stalls. The crowds of people and the sounds they make can only be heard in the distant vineyards like the far off sound of a hurdy gurdy, and on the grey slopes of the Drachenfels they do not even sound as a buzzing echo.

The sounds of gaiety here are not particularly oppressive since the dampening effect of the nearby river keeps them within reasonable bounds. The closeness of the houses does not make you claustrophobic and the cliffs above could not be said to be majestic.

At the foot of the hills where the Romans and later the stonemasons who built Cologne Cathedral cut out a wall of rock which a viveyard owner uses as a cool corner for his barrels, the man himself seems carved out of stone and he would still like to have a few words with Adenauer.

Anything that flourishes here comes from various sources. It does not take people here long to make decisions, poor and rich, tall and short, old and young alike take less time than anywhere else. Statesman is a foreign word. From Ziepchen one is on the way to the grave of a man from Rhöndorf, a strong man and a good neighbour.

At the small cafe above the old timber-work the Rhineland name of Profittlich can be seen. The people of Rhöndorf have a special way of life and for them the baker Profittlich, from whom they have bought their bread for many a long year, is more important to them than an Adenauer, a Kennedy or a Schumacher. One man wants to set up a funicular so as to make a cafe more profitable then someone complains of the possible noise.

The local Christian Democrat member of the Bundestag, Georg Kliesing, has received letters which confirm the bitterness of the struggle that is going on. The old man from Zennigsweg maintained in all seriousness that the security of the Federal Republic was thus being undermined. The railway was not built. Today a way to the grave of the Adenauers is at the same time a way to the grave of masterbaker Profittlich and to the flourishing business of his successors.

It is a narrow path alongside a small brook with overhanging shrubbery and the moist, damp ground creates and humid and stiffling climate. Asphalt has been laid but unless the visitor looks carefully he would still think he was going along the gravel that had been churned up by cart wheels.

A familiar smell comes through your nose where there are houses steeped in the essence of humanity. One senses Rhenish cooking with its mixture of sweetness and bitterness, acrid and mild.

There is always a *Sauerbraten* cooking with its distinctive smell of a mixture of vinegar and currents. Behind the green shutters it is possible to heart the ratle of crockery and clocks as they chime the hours. During these days of the Olympics the fluourescent glow of the television set can even be seen at mid-day.

Children play. Further on a bungalow has been built. Are we really going along a path that leads to a dead man whose era is past? Does time come into it at all, is the present not the same as the past here; is this path to this grave perhaps more than mere chance?

Further up the local authorities have erected a new chapel, a strange and alien element in this valley, made of glass and so called modern in style. All around it are lawns, bushes and flowers, such as are to be seen around a detached house. On the slopes above there are the new plots of the cemetery since the need to be buried here seems to be growing. Nearby under old trees on irregular terraces there are the old burial ground, a grove more than a wood something like a monetary garden.

The creation of wooded cemeteries



Adenauer's Rhöndorf home

(Photo: J. H. Darch

arises from the German inclination to make everything mystical and near to God, which bolsters the existence of rheumatism and bats, but this cemetery is truely beautiful.

It is necessary to climb up steps from quarried stone originating from the Sie-

DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

bengebirge. One climbs up the same stones to Adenauer's home with its earthy ground and mossy green and a touch of dull grey. There is nothing here to fire the imagination. The paths get lost and later re-emerge and the graves give them a kind of rhythm. Right at the top at the most far-flung point above a small bend in the path there is the narrow stretch for which we have been aiming. In the cemetery one gets lost looking here and there for the path. When one is in a group one leaves the others behind and finds them hesitantly again, and the stream of visitors from all over the country is uninterrupted. Some stay and linger, some take photographs but voices are hushed. On a nearby bench a few Rhenish matrons are sitting.

This is the grave. Alpine violets, a few asters and thick undergrowth. There is a wreath from the parish of St Ignasius from Mainz, two red wreaths without candles and wild bushes all around.

In the midst is a tall, rectangular slab of sandstone on which a figure reaches up to the heavens like a flame, surrounded by angels. Under the red letters there are several names the last of which can still be seen clearly: Konrad Adenauer. To the left in the shrubbery there stands a narrow weather-beaten bench, a tablet names other names. Behind this there is the burial place of the organist Frings and his wife. This is surrounded by high beech trees.

In the village about a quarter of an hour from the cemetery there is the Adenauers' home which is today run by a foundation. The house stands high above the road. It is only accessible by foot and 60 steps have to be. These 60 steps had to be climbed by Konrad Adenauer every day and the knowledgeable guide does not forget to tell the visitor so. Fruit trees stand in the garden and at a bend in the path a tall Japanese decorative tree throws a shadow.

Then we come to the roses. We actually expected more. To the left is the pavilion with its octangular construction in the pattern of the floor and in the wooden ceiling. The writing desk there with its light roccoco style is said to have been designed by Adenauer himself.

The house is roomy but not massive. The visitor enters a hallway, looks to the right into a 'music room' and then comes to the living accomodation. The furniture has not changed. There is the simple armchair with its tattered brocade covers, the worn out carpets, the pictures on the wall, the mementos — this Adenauer's world arranged without ambition, nonchalant and with a spirit of life rather than of style. Anyone who lived here could conceive of a 'bürgerlich' Germany, a world which dared not disturb the peace of 'the best room'. It is astonishing how one feels at home here. A country was built up in this image and its ideal culminates in these four walls.

One can look through a window into the room in which Adenauer died. It is a narrow room with a dark high bed and little furniture. On the table there are two records, the last the dying man ever heard: Haydn and Schubert. In the room nearby there are paintings, undoubtedly genuine, by Churchill and Eisenhower. The garden is filled with putti and burlesque pieces. From the Rhine one can hear ships going past and the sound of the railway.

On a trip to Rhöndorf on foot one can see the Rhine with its islands, Rodderberg opposite, an old volcano. The slopes of the Rolandsbogen are covered with ivy, and in the distance the Eifel, which is usually surrounded with mist.

Everywhere there is a sense of abundance with thick vegetation, no excessive boldness, high spots and depths that equal each other out. There is always life on the Rhine. Even the silences seem friendly.

Ludolf Herrmann

(Deutsche Zeitung, 8 September 1972)

Air pollution endangers fabric of Cologne Cathedral

The cathedral at Cologne is crumbling. Unless funds are provided this example of the art of the Middle Ages will fall victim to pollution and partly cave in.

Cologne's Archbishop, Joseph Cardinal Höffner appealed to the public in July this year to provide funds. Officialdom has stepped in and in view of the alarming increase in the damage done by weather conditions on account of air pollution the factory inspection department of the North-Rhine Westphalia Labour and Social Welfare Ministry has been instructed to make a survey and suggest remedies for the damages.

The survey, fully approved by the head of Cologne's city government will be undertaken by specialists for air pollution attached to the appropriate Federal state office.

Above all things concern centres on the limestone used from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century to complete the cathedral that from the late Middle Ages had remained unfinished. This stone was used among other things for the tower.

During the last ten years inspections have revealed that this building material is being harmed by sulphur dioxide. Specialists maintain that the exhaust from railway engines is responsible for this damage for the cathedral stands very close to Cologne main railway station. Since the Federal Republic railways have converted to electric locomotives the pace of the damage to the cathedral's fabric has noticeably declined.

Home heating in the vincinity of the cathedral cannot be considered responsible for damaging the cathedral since for many years the buildings around it have been heated with 'piped heating'.

It is expected that it will be found that industrial exhaust has been mainly responsible for the damage. Officials at the office for factory inspection believe that apart from sulphur dioxide fluorine will also be responsible for damaging the stonework and glass in the edifice. Fluorine damage to the glass in the building can be clearly seen.

Since 1952 the building work department for the cathedral has known a way of counteracting the damage to the limestone sections of the building — basalt stone. This stone withstands the ravages of the air and retains its colour. This stone however is considerably more expensive and the 50-man team of builders who work for the cathedral's building department estimate that it would take them 90 years to replace the damaged stones already noted.

Hartwig Suhrbier

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 September 1972)

New hotel group

A group of hotels and restaurants in the Federal Republic propose operating in future under a central authority using the name "Romantic Hotels". The hotels and restaurants are all in buildings that are of historical importance.

These middle-grade hotels and restaurants intend not only to emphasis the romantic atmosphere they have but also to offer first class service at moderate prices and with the personal attention of the owner.

Nine hotels have joined the group so far but it is hoped that eventually it will be fifty strong.

(Die Welt, 8 September 1972)

SPORT

From the sporting viewpoint Munich Olympics were a considerable success

Much remains to be written about Munich and the future of the Olympic Games but a review of the sporting achievements at the 1972 Summer Olympics presents fewer problems, the host country's showjumping team having won the final medal on the last day of the Games.

Always assuming that there is more to it than the medal stakes, individual achievement, for instance, Munich saw any number of outstanding athletes who well deserve a place in the sporting hall of fame.

The United States once reigned supreme at the Olympics but on this occasion was ousted in many disciplines that used to be regarded as an American preserve — basketball, the pole vault and the shot put, for instance.

Yet oddly enough the United States provided the athlete who must unquestionably be rated the star of the Munich Games. Swimmer Mark Spitz, with seven gold medals to his credit, was every bit as much the man of the Games as Ard Schenk of Holland was the victor ludorum at Sapporo.

Spitz is certainly more deserving of the title than Soviet decathlon gold medallist and world record-holder Nikolai Avilov of the Soviet Union.

The order in which the individual runners-up are listed is a matter of personal judgment. There are Valeri Borsov, the men's 100 metres winner and fastest man in the world, Sawao Kato, the Japanese gymnastics ace, Andreas Balczo, Hungary's star in the modern pentathlon, John Akii-Bua of Uganda, that most cheerful of world record-winners, Wim Ruska, the Dutch judoka, Lasse Viren, Finland's new Nurmi, and many, many more.

One name that must not be forgotten is that of Klaus Wolfermann of this country, whose javelin triumph over the hot favourite, Soviet world record-holder Janis Lusis, created a field athletics sensation.

Sixteen-year-old high-jump gold medallist Ulrike Meyfarth of this country was the surprise winner in the women's disciplines. She proved incontrovertibly that even in these days of programmed competitive sport surprises can still be sprung.

But the Queen of the Olympics was undoubtedly Heide Rosendahl of this country, which is not to belittle the achievements of Australia's swimming glamour girl Shane Gould, sprinter Renate Stecher from Jena, GDR, or Soviet gymnast Olga Korbut, to whom the crowd took such a fancy.

Heide's performance was superb. It also gave her team-mates a much-needed boost. After four days spent suffering from the complex of being the home team they promptly emerged from the doldrums following Heide Rosendahl's long jump gold.

Among team events volleyball would seem to be well on the way to becoming a popular sport of international dimensions, but the teams that deserve first mention are the New Zealand rowing eights and this country's hockey team.

"For me personally and from our country's point of view," Willi Daume commented in connection with Carsten Keller and his hockey aces, "the gold medal in hockey was the most gratifying victory. In no other discipline could the team claim to have been more genuinely amateur in the best sense of the world."

The same applies to the New Zealand oarsmen, whose victory in the coxed eights was equally satisfying.

But the medal stakes and world records are nonetheless a powerful factor and exercise greater attraction on most members of the general public. Never before have thirty world records been set up in swimming and fifteen in athletics disciplines. Once again one wonders just how far the human body can go.

As regards medals the Soviet Union ousted the United States at the top of the table. In Mexico the United States won 107 medals, including 45 golds, and the Soviet Union 91, including 29 gold medals. At Munich Russia topped the bill with 99 medals, including fifty golds.

"We are going to carefully review the performance of our team," Clifford Buck, the chef de mission of the US team commented. "Never before have we spent so much money in preparation. We will now have to see how well it was spent."

The same story is to be heard in this country, which spent proportionately even more money than the United States. "We have just managed to scrape home," it was felt after Mexico, where the Federal Republic team won 26 medals, five golds, eleven silvers and ten bronzes.

This time more medals were forthcoming: thirteen gold, eleven silver and sixteen bronze, yet the response has been varied.

Anything in excess of 35 medals must be considered to have been a success, the Federal Committee on Competitive Sport reckoned, having estimated a minimum of 29 and a maximum of 48 medals for this country.

Professor Josef Nöcker, chef de mission of the home team, was less enthusiastic. "Due to fine planning, good organisation and cooperation between the Competitive Sport Committee and the individual sports associations considerable progress was made," he noted, "but a good deal remains to be accomplished in respect of cooperation."

"What we lacked," Sports Aid Foundation chairman Josef Neckermann commented, "was community spirit. We were not one team but 21 separate groups."

All in all, "competitive sport in the Federal Republic is still six to eight years behind developments in other countries."

"Now we must really get down to business," Josef Neckermann proclaimed. Yet the Sports Aid Foundation, admirable though its work has been, has in many cases done more harm than good.

It is not a matter of identification with ideological targets to suggest that instead of training grants prior to the performance envisaged consideration ought at least to be given to the GDR system of "paying" by results — though needless to say the GDR denies that its system is anything of the kind.

State-run sport in the Eastern Bloc ruled the roost, winning 94 out of a total of 195 gold medals. The number of countries that even get a look in at the medals is growing smaller. In Mexico thirty countries shared out the medals between them. At Munich there were only twenty-five. The strong are growing stronger and the weak weaker.

Not even thirteen gold medals can paper over the fact that this country's team had its weak points. This is particularly true of the oarsmen and the cyclists, whose training was the most expensive, and also of the marksmen.

Without a doubt the athletes did best. No one expected them to win six gold medals. As a result of their final victory the equestrian team just managed to live up to expectations, while the hockey team could hardly have been expected to do more than win gold.

The boxers also did better than had been expected. Not since 1936 has this country won Olympic gold in the boxing ring. At Munich Dieter Kottysch of Hamburg won the final of the Olympic light middleweight contest.

The handball team did nowhere near as well as had been hoped but were by no means on their own in this respect.

In the weeks and months to come the performance of this country's athletes in the various Olympic disciplines will be thoroughly reviewed. There is time enough to come to detailed conclusions.

If the medals won at Munich and Sapporo are combined the four foremost countries remain the same and in the same order. The Soviet Union heads the list with 58 gold, 32 silver and 25 bronze medals, followed by the United States with 36 gold, 33 silver and 33 bronze medals.

Third and fourth place are occupied by the GDR and this country respectively, with 24 gold, 26 silver and thirty bronze medals and sixteen, twelve and seventeen.

In the middle of the table considerable progress has been made by countries such as Japan, with fourteen, nine and nine, Poland, with eight, five and nine, Italy, with seven, five and eleven, Holland, with seven, four and three, Sweden, with five, seven and eight, Norway, with four, six and five, and Switzerland, with four, six and three.

These calculations are all overshadowed by something more significant, though. The power and impotence of the Olympic Games could hardly have been better demonstrated than at Munich.

It remains to be seen whether the men who claimed the immortality of the Olympic idea as justification for raising the flags from half-mast and bringing the Games to their conclusion regardless of the massacre of Israeli athletes, the men who are now calling the youth of the world to take part in the Montreal and Denver Olympics in 1976, will succeed in maintaining their idealistic outlook regardless of worldly pressures.

The future will certainly be determined more by young people than by the time-honoured trustees of the International Olympic Committee with their traditions and conventions.

These young people demonstrated in the darkest hours of the Munich Games that they were unwilling to accept without a murmur the decision of the IOC that the Games must go on despite the murder of their Israeli fellow-competitors.

But with the carefree nature that is their youthful privilege they demonstrated, in the final ceremony, that despite ideological differences they are impressively prepared to live their lives together.

This demonstration by the world's young athletes may have been no more than a spark of hope but the powers that be all over the world are duty bound not to snuff it out if they mean to do the right thing by their young people.

Otherwise they will be guilty of the hypocrisy of which the IOC has so often and so readily been accused.

Gerhard Reinmann

(Der Tagesspiegel, 12 September 1972)

What future does the Olympics movement have?

Lord Killanin proposes to spend a week each month in the Lausanne office of the International Olympic Committee over the next few years. Between now and Montreal he will thus have 48 weeks in which to rid himself of an illusion of which, albeit to his credit, he fell foul in the final days of his stay in Munich.

This illusion is that of Olympic Games without flags and national anthems being an improvement on the current nationalistic tenor of the Games.

Whenever the realisation comes, whether sooner or later — and the new IOC President is by no means alone in harbouring this illusion — preparations for the next Olympics will have progressed too far along the traditional lines of national teams for changes to be made.

Were, for instance, stricter regulations to be drawn up ensuring that only the purest of amateurs take part and do so as individuals rather than as members of a national team and were their modest performances to be rewarded with medals presented to the raising of the Olympic flag and the sounding of the Olympic anthem, a few thousand spectators steeped in the traditions of Ancient Greece might go to the trouble of lining the terraces but even they would soon lose heart, proclaiming that the Ancient Greeks were surely not as lily-livered as this.

The Games held every four years at the Temple of Zeus in Olympia consisted of sporting and poetic contests in honour of the deity. Yet competitors hoped that the adjudicators would find their performances worthy of a statue to stand alongside those of the Gods — a Hall of Fame.

What is more, the cities and small states that made up a great nation rent by political dissension left their competitors every support, promising them a secure old age if they won.

Not a single athlete or bard entered solely on his own behalf. They all competed for the greater glory of their own locality, and the Greek cities were in continuous competition for cultural and political supremacy.

Games in honour of one God are no longer feasible. In the deity's stead the Olympic idea has been elevated to a supreme principle.

The unwieldy, gargantuan nature of the modern Olympics is only natural in the circumstances. The world being what it is, the Games can hardly be small and modest. The idea that they glorify individual achievement is irreconcilable with the spirit of competition.

Is sporting competition with the aim of ensuring top-flight international performances conceivable in any way other than as a competition between nations?

One does not have to be a loyal henchman of the late General de Gaulle to realise that nations are the units that determine the course of history and that most people by far associate and identify themselves with their countries.

At international sporting contests nations are thus bound to represent the spirit of competition, the Ancient Greek *agon* that was felt to be part and parcel of life and to which they paid homage at the Olympics.

The call for an end to the playing of national anthems and the hoisting of flags is understandable enough in view of the boring perfection of countless victory ceremonies in Munich.

This ceremony envisaged as homage to the Olympic idea is probably further away from human values than the sport itself. But it would be even more than a further misunderstanding about the nature of the Olympics were it to be assumed that future Games could still be interesting without the subdivision according to competing countries.

Christian Schütze

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 September 1972)